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USSR GROUP IN GENEVA SEEKS 'FULL-SCALE' TALKS

LD291730 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1634 GMT 29 Jan 87

[Text] Geneva, 29 Jan (TASS) -- A routine session took place here today within the framework of the Soviet-U.S. talks on the problem of halting nuclear weapons tests.

The Soviet delegation is headed by A.M. Petrosyants, chairman of the State Committee for Utilization of Atomic Energy, and the U.S. delegation by R. Barker, assistant tomthe secretary of defense for questions of atomic energy.

The Soviet side considers it essential that a task vital to humankind -- a complete end to all nuclear tests -- be resolved speedily. In this regard the Soviet delegation is trying to achieve a start to full-scale talks, which have as their ultimate aim the elaboration of accords which could ban nuclear tests for all time.

NEW TIMES CITES OBUKHOV ON GENEVA PACKAGE

PM221119 Moscow NEW TIMES in English No. 2, 19 Jan 87 pp 6-8

[Interview with Ambassador at Large Aleksey Obukhov, Soviet representative on the strategic offensive arms group at the Soviet-U.S. talks on nuclear and space arms limitation, by staff writers Galina Sidorova and Dmitriy Pogorzhelskiy: "Our Package at Geneva"]

[Text] [N.T.] Soviet-American talks on further limitations of strategic offensive arms - beyond SALT-I and SALT-II have been conducted, off and on, since 1981. To a lay observer, the talks have seemed until now to focus on "technical" matters, with endless figures, ceilings and subceilings being tabled and experts racking their brains over equivalences. The Soviet proposals being tabled today are more global and accessible but, at the same time, more complex in their simplicity. Can it be said that the negotiations are proceeding at a new level?

[Obukhov] You are right. We have behind us a prolonged period of disucssions. We have a solid record of agreements concluded during the SALT-I and SALT-II negotiations. Many problems were studied then. Although the American side is trying to discard existing agreements, the experience accumulated during that period is with us and will remain useful.

The Soviet initiatives, noteably the programme to eliminate nuclear weapons before the end of the century put forward on January 15 1986, have now created the necessary conditions for adopting truly comprehensive decisions in the areas we are discussing.

Formerly, the issue was one of limiting strategic armaments and there was no talk of drastic cuts, although certain cuts were envisaged by the SALT-II treaty, if it had been ratified. Now the Soviet Union is proposing to get rid of the burden of nuclear weapons before the end of the century. Mikhail Gorbachev's position set out in Reykjavik was a development of the January proposal. We have arrived at joint solutions in a number of areas. They have not, however, been formalized because the U.S. is clinging to SDI. But the fact remains that in the field of strategic offensive armaments, the prospect of eliminating these arms within ten years was discussed. [paragraph continues]

Equally drastic measures were contemplated in the field of Soviet and U.S. medium-range missiles deployed in Europe - they would be subject to elimination.

The challenge in Geneva today is to draw up agreements on the basis of the Reykjavik accords, agreements that could mark a turning point in international development and pave the way towards a nuclear-free world. Ultimately, of course, these agreements would have to be enshrined in legal documents to be prepared by the delegations at the negotiations. This is very painstaking work, but early success is possible given the political will and desire to come to terms.

Who Is Creating New Problems [subhead]

[N.T.] It is almost three months since the Reykjavik meeting. Has there been any noticeable change in the American position? In its tone? Has it come up with any new proposals?

[Obukhov] We should bear in mind that certain quarters were alarmed by Reykjavik. They would like to see all its positive outcome buried, to forget this episode as if it had never taken place. This, unfortunately, has been made clear by the behaviour of official representatives of the U.S. and some other Western countries.

The same concepts, so to speak, can be clearly discerned in the position of the American side at the talks. Our partners have tried to dodge Reykhavik and create additional obstacles on the already arduous path to success.

[N.T.] How, specifically, did this tendency manifest itself?

[Obukhov] Take the central issue of preventing the arms race in outer space. In Reykjavik, SDI proved to be the main stumbling block. At the Geneva talks the Americans did not exert the slightest effort to find a solution to the problem and despite the fact that our proposals remain in force.

The Soviet side does not demand that Washington abandon all work on SDI. We allow for corresponding research and tests so long as they are confined to the laboratory. Such activity would not be considered a violation of the ABM Treaty. But in order to strengthen the regime of that treaty, we propose a ban on all space tests of ABM space elements. The need for such a mutual commitment is evident. Otherwise the allowable period of non-withdrawal from the ABM Treaty as advocated by the Soviet Union would see not compliance with the provisions of this document of unlimited duration, but its dilution and erosion.

After that, in accordance with our plan, the sides would hold talks in order to assess the situation and decide what to do next. The American representatives, however, would not discuss any limitations on SDI.

Interpreting to Violate [subhead]

[N.T.] In the U.S., there is talk of two interpretations of the ABM Treaty, the "narrow" and the "broad." What exactly is meant?

[Obukhov] Judging from official U.S. statements, Washington is currently adhering to the so-called "broad" interpretation of the ABM Treaty. [paragraph continues]

I think the use of this term is imprecise because there can be only one interpretation of the treaty, namely, the correct one. The essence of the treaty is clearly expressed in its text. Article 1, for instance, reads that the parties have no right to create an ABM system in their country's territory or conduct preparations for creating it. All the other provisions are geared to Article 1, ensuring compliance with it. Article 5 forbids the creation, testing and deployment of a space-based ABM system or components thereof. The "broad" interpretation actually means an arbitrary interpretation whereby the treaty does not impose any limitations on ABM systems based on alternative physical principles. An attempt is being made to convince us that the treaty allows the corresponding tests anywhere, including outer space.

The U.S. is trying to justify its commitment to SDI and to conducting work that would essentially wreck the ABM Treaty.

Meanwhile, according to the treaty -- which sets strict limits on the scope and areas of ABM deployment -- the so-called "exotic" types of ABM systems can only exist in a land-based stationary shape. Hence, such systems cannot be tested in outer space, in the air and at sea or on a mobile ground basis.

[N.T.] After the Gorbachev-Reagan meeting, the Western press revived its old thesis that the U.S.S.R. is taking an "all-or-nothing" stand. Official representatives have also said this, citing our package of proposals. Could you comment on these statements?

[Obukhov] The United States and other Western countries should consider and give its due to our package. For it promises a solution to incredibly complex issues and makes it possible to cut the Gordian knot of the Number One problem -- restraining the arms race.

The U.S.S.R. has offered very considerable concessions. Take, for instance, strategic offensive weapons, an area close to me. We have withdrawn our demand to count in U.S. medium-range missiles that can reach our territory.

On medium-range missiles, the U.S.S.R. would exclude the British and French nuclear potentials, provided the Soviet Union and the U.S. liquidates their medium-range missiles in Europe. And yet these potentials are not negligible.

The package balances compromises and the interests of both parties. Let me stress that our package is not a precondition. It is a weighed and thoroughly considered set of measures paving the way to a nuclear-free world.

These who ascribe to us an "all-or-nothing" position want to prevent progress at the Geneva talks. They want to tear the package apart, retaining those aspects that suit the West, while forgetting that we too have our own security interests. We will not agree to that.

Needed: Compromises, Not Manoeuvres [subhead]

[N.T.] The package contains the Soviet "zero option" concerning medium-range missiles. The U.S. stand on SDI blocked an agreement in this area when it seemed within reach. And yet it has recently been suggested in Western Europe that this is the area where progress is most realistic. Is this a justified viewpoint?

[Obukhov] The Soviet Union has exhibited unprecedented flexibility in this matter. I have said that the French and British potentials are not negligible and continue to grow. It is no secret against whom they would be used. Paris and London are Washington's allies in NATO and are closely cooperating in the alliance,as is well known.

And yet, in order to achieve progress on the whole range of issues, the U.S.S.R. has agreed not only to exclude the Anglo-French potential, but even not to raise the question of its growth. This is proof of our readiness to negotiate and look for a mutually accpetable solution.

Incidentally, the American side has offered its own "package" on medium-range missiles. It seems to have lost interest in the problem of medium-range missiles and is trying to get shorter-range missiles into the focus of attention.

I must stress that inasmuch as we are talking about very far-reaching and real disarmament measures, they should be carried out together. Our approach cannot lead to an impasse. On the contrary, it paves the way for an agreement. In the negotiations, we proceed in such a way as not to block the path to success on any of the issues on the agenda. We are prepared to advance in all directions.

[N.T.] We are well aware of the ambivalence felt in the U.S. in the wake of Reykjavik: What did the President agree to? How far did he go in accepting Soviet proposals? Did this affect the behaviour of your partners on the other side of the table?

[Obukhov] It is on paper that Reagan had agreed to the complete elimination of strategic offensive weapons within the specified period of ten years. After the summit, our partners suddenly began to talk along different lines. We are being told that by the end of the said period the U.S. would only be ready to eliminate ballistic missiles. This is a far cry from what has been agreed in Reykjavik.

[N.T.] But THE NEW YORK TIMES has reported the Reagan Administration as stating that the U.S. intends to abandon its proposal to eliminate all ballistic missiles within ten years, and is not insisting on it. What is behind this? Is it a sign of flexibility?

[Obukhov] So far, the U.S. stand in Geneva is the one I have just described. Let us look at what we are being offered. If we remember the figures of agreement under SALT-II, the U.S. has a little under 600 strategic bombers. The U.S.S.R. has about 150. Let us imagine that as a first stage, i.e., before 1991, they are reduced by half. Then, if IBMs alone are eliminated, the U.S. will gain a considerable edge. This is no basis for agreement. You are right in saying that Washington is now talking of modifying its position, departing from a hard line, of its readiness to preserve a certain number of IBMs. But this is not flexibility. It is a departure from Reykjavik, where what was under consideration was the elimination, by the end of 1996, of all offensive strategic systems constituting the triad.

[N.T.] Furthermore, as you have mentioned, the U.S. is violating the SALT-II agreement. Will that affect negotiations?

[Obukhov] It is easier to conclude a new agreement - which is our aim - proceeding from what has been achieved than to start from scratch. The atmosphere at negotiations is very important for the course of the discussion. [paragraph continues]

It can either make the adoption of decisions more difficult or contribute to an agreement. If the arms race makes a spurt in every direction while negotiations are in progress, it is far more difficult to agree. The arms race outstrips, as it were, efforts toward an agreement. This is how we should view the U.S. action in exceeding the SALT-II limits. That is why we say that their manoeuvres impede negotiations and create further obstacles.

[N.T.] Let us dwell on the talks on nuclear and space arms limitations. Could you tell us about the procedure and the composition of the groups?

[Obukhov] The goals and subject of negotiations were agreed by the Soviet Foreign Minister and the U.S. Secretary of State in January 1985: to prevent the arms race in space and halt it on earth. It was then that the organizational framework was determined: The delegations were divided into three groups according to three areas of negotiations. The first deals with space weapons, the second, with strategic offensive weapons and the third, with medium-range missiles. Representatives of the groups meet regularly in conference. These are the plenary sessions newspapers report in a few lines.

Looking for Points of Contact [subhead]

[N.T.] How do the talks proceed in practical terms? Is it a matter of heated arguments and debates, or is it the mere exchange of figures, ceilings and subceilings?

[Obukhov] The forms of procedure took shape gradually as a result of mutual experience. The key elements in the negotiations are the meetings of delegations as a whole, or of groups. The venue is alternately the Soviet and the American missions. The sides exchange statements on this or that issue, or issues they deem it necessary to raise at a given moment. Then the heads of delegations and groups retire for so-called talks after session to have further discussions. Experts have separate meetings.

The debates can be "heated" or calm. We seek businesslike discussions because the aim is to achieve agreement. It is my deep conviction that the main thing is not to start unnecessary arguments and try to outshout each other, but to identify points of contact and work out a common approach that would yield a solution.

Unfortunately, in the post-Reykjavik period our partners have so far failed to take any constructive steps conducive to progress. But progress is only possible if both sides are ready for it.

[N.T.] On a purely human level, do you feel your partners on the other side of the table want to see success in Geneva?

[Obukhov] We have heard assurances of a wish to achieve progress many times. I would like to hope that they are sincere and reflect the attitude of the people whom we have been looking in the eye for nearly two years. The problem is the official position our colleagues represent.

[N.T.] Has it become more or less difficult to work after Reykjavik?

[Obukhov] We have been negotiating for exactly a month since the Reykjavik meeting. The U.S. has tabled its proposals on all three areas of talks. Unfortunately, they are not aimed at progress but at departure from Reykjavik.

The U.S.S.R. for its part tabled its proposals on November 7, summing up the positive experience of the Icelandic meeting and providing a basis for advance.

[N.T.] How did the Americans react to these proposals?

[Obukhov] The round came to an end a few days after the proposals were made and we managed to exchange only very preliminary and isolated remarks. Nor did the American side have anything positive to offer at the working meeting between the heads of groups at the negotiations held in Geneva in early December. Of course, one hopes that by the start of the next round the partners will have arrived at constructive positions, and helped to clear the impasses.

[N.T.] So, you are an optimist?

[Obukhov] Most definitely. Of course, we are dealing with very intricate problems. But let me say that in Reykjavik the flexibility of the Soviet leadership made it possible to reach agreements of a truly revolutionary significance for progress towards a non-nuclear world. This fuels my optimism. Another source of optimism is the demands of millions of people on our planet that are consonant with the Soviet proposal to eliminate the threat of nuclear war for all time. The voice of millions is making itself heard and the anti-war movement will play a growing role and one which is not to be discounted.

FALIN WRITES ON POSSIBILITY OF DISARMAMENT

PM211701 Moscow NEW TIMES in English No. 1, 12 Jan 87 pp 11-12

[Valentin Falin article: "Only Under Compulsion?"]

[Text] A great deal, if not all, both good and bad that has accompanied man in the course of his development, has been conceived by the human brain. This is especially true in modern times, and particularly at the end of the 20th and the beginning of the 21st century.

World science can endow any state, and not necessarily the strongest, with technical and other means of warfare capable of killing every living thing on earth. These are means against which there is no effective antidote, nor, indeed, will there be in the foreseeable future. These means, once devised, dictate their own logic, and may get out of man's control.

In short, the world stands on the threshold of critical technological breakthroughs, which will most likely deprive governments of the ability to control the arms race and, in the final count, everything that happens on the planet. This will be the case even if the scales fall from the eyes of the world community when the said technologies materializes, and everyone passionately desires to reach accord. This is no theoretical conjecture, but the reality we have to reckon with.

What will the world be like in the 21st century? On what moral, political and military basis should relations between states be built? What will the world community be like -- considering that today it comprises more than 160 states, each with its own interests, its own individual concepts of justice and injustice, of good and ill, with its own views on many issues, both those that exist today and those that will emerge tomorrow and the day after tomorrow, in the foreseeable or the not so foreseeable future?

The more states there are in the community, the more varied their internal structures; the more diverse are their traditions, the more points of contact there are, on the one hand, and, on the other, the more areas, in which the old and the new are in conflict and in which objective difficulties block any common course to ensure that the interests of one state do not exclude the interests of another.

Are the methods of regulation, established de facto in international relations, appropriate for coping with the problems of the present, and especially, of the future? If not, why not? If they are, then to what extent? CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev has emphasized that it is hardly appropriate to attempt to confine tomorrow within the concepts of yesterday. This is wrong as man is living in a qualitatively different situation in which the cost of error is quite different from what it was 40-50 years ago or more.

We know what stood in the way of peace based on consensus and cooperation before the second world war. Let us recall the words of Hankey, Secretary to the British Government without interruption from 1919 to 1938, who believed that war was the right and proper vehicle for the development of international events. It would be naive to think, he said, that imperialism could pursue a non-imperialist policy. This was not a private person's pronouncement in defence of a private stand. It was a philosophy, of which the architect was British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain, a philosophy that held that war was preferable to peace secured with the participation of the U.S.S.R.

The experience of the second world war showed this position to be extremely dangerous as much for imperialism as for the rest of the world. The lessons of the past war should have made us wiser, otherwise its death toll of 55 million was in vain. But are we prepared to be wiser? Or are we doomed to live in peace with one another only under compulsion? Nuclear compulsion today, electronic laser compulsion tomorrow, but compulsion, a big stick all the same. And what till somebody lets the stick slip, whether by accident or design, with all the ensuring consequences?

Here is the actual situation which the deployment of U.S. first-strike missiles in Western Europe has produced. Their function, according to Generals Haig and Rogers, two official and competent authorities, is to decapitate the Soviet Union at the very outset of war. And so, the missiles are on the alert. Soviet early warning systems monitor their launching from West German territory. We know that their warheads are aimed primarily at Soviet administrative centres and other vital targets. Command centres are notified of the identified missiles two or three minutes after they are launched at the latest. This leaves only three to five minutes before these missiles reach their targets.

What will happen in these last 3-5 minutes? Will there be an emergency session of the Supreme Soviet? Will the Soviet side wait to be decapitated, look on without replying at the implementation of NATO directives ordering that the maximum damage be inflicted on the enemy in the minimum time? [paragraph continues]

These directives specify that in the first 25 minutes of war it will be necessary to kill 70 million people "to break the Soviet resolve to resist." But do not expect nonresistance to evil. Retaliation against the aggressor will be inevitable.

But why all this? The result is clear in advance. Those who fight first will die second. That is the most to be hoped for. They will have no change to derive even sadistic pleasure from the evil inflicted. Or has the desire to wreak social revenge driven them to a self-denial that is final and irreversible? Everyone wonders which is the lesser evil: to lose your freedom and your head or your soul. But you will keep both, so long as the head is emptied of dross, the claims to supremacy, omnipotence and club rule that have fuddled the senses. That has gone, never to return. Times have changed. The planet is pluralist today. It has as many poles as there are nations. That is undoubtedly to the good, as it is altogether natural.

It is vital, though, that thinking processes, the formation of political concepts, the making of decisions, should be in harmony with the qualitatively new situation. This will not come suddenly of itself. The evolution of new yardsticks, new parameters within which to examine and regulate all our problems, new methods and, to a certain extent, new principles, will be attended by heated discussion both within and between the different countries. But that is inevitable.

For its part, the Soviet side has drawn the firm conclusion that today the problems that exist between states, among them problems of security or those associated with it, can be resolved exclusively by peaceful means through negotiation. The position-of-strength policy, the policy of force has completely outlived itself. In our time security can only be all-embracing and, as far as the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. are concerned, mutual. The craving for military superiority is fallacious at the root: It is unattainable and attempts to deny this objective fact inevitably serve to destabilize the world situation.

In fact, we drew this conclusion for ourselves, though perhaps not in so perfect a form as today, when the Soviet republic was in its infancy. It was documented in Lenin's Decree on Peace, in the call for the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems.

This conclusion was reflected in the Soviet-American accords, which placed on record the mutual understanding that in this nuclear age there is no sane alternative to peaceful coexistence, that both countries see it as their aim to avert war, especially nuclear war, and promote and broaden areas of mutually advantageous cooperation.

The policy known as detente is essential and feasible. For it to be definitely successful, however, one indispensable condition is consistency. It hardly makes sense to sign a treaty, especially a permanent one, if either of the sides does not regard it as binding from the start; a treaty with no time limit will be operational only for as long as it is more expedient to observe than to breach it. It is inadmissible when launching a process between states, especially with regard to military security, arbitrarily to break it off at some point, if for purely domestic or subjective motives it seems unduly burdensome. This is the case with SALT, where Washington is sending down the drain the stock of understanding accumulated over years and decades.

In law there are no such concepts as "desirable" and "undesirable." Law always deals with the category of "principle." When one side is permitted something the other side cannot be denied it. [paragraph continues]

Law is built on that axiom and always will be. Even Christianity rests on that principle: Do unto others as you would that they should do unto you. However, in the subconscious of some people in the West there are still two degrees of security, more security for themselves and less security for the rest. However, to envisage different principles for different countries is to sow hostility and conflict between them.

In considering what will come 10, 15, or 20 years from now, the Soviet Union seeks an answer that will not conflict with the interests of other countries. We do not demand for ourselves anything we would plan to deny others. We desire for ourselves the very same security that we are prepred to recognize as necessary to the United States and Western Europe, including the neutral countries, that we would want for India, Africa and all countries and continents the world over. Therein perhaps lies our fundamental difference from everything that is professed today in Washington.

How long do you think it took President Harry Truman to consider the question of whether the world should be nuclear or not, of whether or not to continue collaborating with the Soviet Union after the aggressors had been crushed in the Second World War? On April 23, 1945, Secretary of War Stimson and Manhattan project director General Groves notified the President of what had been achieved in work on the nuclear bomb. It took them only 15 minutes to report, after which Truman said the U.S. would rule the world. There would be no further question of equal relations with the U.S.S.R. Had Truman said at the time that force was transient, that the American side would not abandon the great cause for which it had fought alongside the Soviet Union in the war, security in the world today would look very different.

So to adopt a decision that turns everything upside down a quarter of an hour is enough, but days, years and decades are not for a constructive move? Why is it necessary to take fifty years, if not a century, to translate what is being said about the value of a denuclearized world into fact? Why put off indefinitely the implementation of conclusions that have long been drawn? If it is really clear that the world cannot survive the burns and injuries of a nuclear attack, then why tempt providence? The quality of a decision does not depend directly on the quantity of time needed to reach it; it is determined by the quality of thinking.

The problem is not as hopelessly difficult as some would like to suggest. It remains difficult for as long as there are people willing to sit it out on the old defences, for as long as the vicious circles that place so much prejudice in the way of all innovation and change remain unbroken.

ARBATOV ON 'NUCLEAR ABYSS' OR 'REAL DISARMAMENT'

LD232116 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1446 GMT 23 Jan 87

[Text] Moscow, 23 Jan 87 (TASS) -- It has taken a decade for nuclear war to be recognized as unacceptable and unthinkable by responsible bourgeois political figures. Academician Georgiy Arbatov writes in KOMMUNIST. The "nuclear enlightenment" of politicians was assisted by the fact that the Soviet Union achieved parity in the nuclear field. The vigorous efforts of mass public movements, and of scientific people, also helped. Especially in recent years, when the effect of a "nuclear winter" was revealed by scientists, it was scientifically proven that a nuclear war is the end of human civilization and of man as a biological species.

Among military leaders nuclear weapons have for a very long time been regarded merely as new weapons. The "counterforce" variation of the use of nuclear weapons (that is, using them against weapons, and not the other side's population), the "first strike" concept, and plans for a "limited" nuclear war have been invented.

Nuclear weapons are not merely one more type of weapon. They are the foundation and basis for present-day militarism. They have carried to the limit the central inner contradiction of militarism, plainly demonstrating that war loses all political purpose and justification, since it can lead -- or rather, it cannot fail to lead -- to the destruction of mankind. These weapons have, as it were, brought the centuries-old tendencies of militarism, of armies and military equipment, to their ultimate limit. Mankind will not succeed in remaining for long at this limit. From here one can either step into the nuclear abyss or onto the path of real disarmament, Georgiy Arbatov stresses.

LOSEV CONTRASTS U.S., USSR ARMS 'RECORDS'

PM221109 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 17 Jan 87 p 5

[Article by Sergey Losev: "No Going Back"]

[Text] The start of the new year has been distinguished not only by severe frosts and snowdrifts, but also by a storm of activity in the international arena. January 15 saw the opening of the latest round of the Soviet-American Geneva talks on nuclear and space weapons, and at the very end of the month the Vienna CSCE meeting will begin and the Vienna talks on reducing armed forces and arms in Central Europe will resume.

The historic program to eliminate nuclear, chemical, and other types of mass destruction weapons by the end of the century, put forward on 15 January 1986 in the statement by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, will serve as a starting point for the Soviet Union at these talks and as the basis of its position. The frontiers in the creation of a nuclear-free world which were mapped out at the Soviet-American meeting in Reykjavik clearly demonstrated that an accord on eliminating nuclear weapons is feasible now rather than in the distant future.

There is no doubt that the complex of Soviet initiatives has the broadest possible international support. The socialist community countries pursue a coordinated foreign policy and, naturally, they not only support but develop the Soviet Union's initiatives. Participants in last November's working meeting in Moscow of the leaders of the CEMA socialist countries' fraternal parties supported the USSR's principled stand in Reykjavik and stressed the need to increase joint efforts in the interests of the struggle to eliminate nuclear weapons, reduce conventional weapons, and strengthen peace and international security.

The conference of nonaligned countries' heads of state and government in Harare called for curtailing the arms race in all its aspects and using the resources thus freed for the purpose of eradicating hunger, illiteracy, poverty, and disease.

In their recent declaration, the "Delhi Six" -- the leaders of Argentina, Greece, India, Mexico, Sweden, and Tanzania -- spoke decisively in favor of urgently drawing up specific measures to prevent an arms race in space and stop the arms race on earth.

Frank displeasure and doubts as to the "health" of the American leadership are growing among the U.S. NATO allies in Europe. As "Irangate" develops, these feelings are also making themselves felt in the United States itself. It is no accident that the first days of work by the 100th U.S. Congress have seen three bills submitted for discussion by the House of Representatives: on the introduction of a "partial" moratorium on nuclear tests, on the extension of the bans on testing the ASAT antisatellite system on real targets in space, and on a U.S. return to the framework of the basic limitations stipulated by the SALT-II treaty. Efforts to limit the administration's militarist programs are also evidenced by opposition in Congress to the draft federal budget for fiscal 1988.

The United States and NATO, however, still prefer to ignore the peoples' will and are failing to show readiness to reach mutually acceptable accords.

From 1981 through 1987 the R. Reagan administration -- a protege of the military and industrial complex -- has not signed a single agreement on the reduction of arms or armed forces. Moreover, it has taken a course aimed at derailing the SALT-II treaty and the termless ABM Treaty and smashing the entire structure of agreements with the Soviet Union created with the participation of the four preceding American administrations. "Reagan," the authoritative American journal FOREIGN AFFAIRS says, "has proved to be the most anti-Soviet American president in the last 30 years and perhaps ever. He has set himself the aim of over-turning rather than strengthening the East-West status quo."

On the eve of the resumption of the Soviet-American Geneva talks, the U.S. President assured people that he would be making efforts to "achieve significant, fair reductions in the American and Soviet nuclear arsenals that can be effectivey verified" [proverka]. But specific action is needed now -- not words and assurances. Meanwhile, the "service record" of the current administration is highly revealing. While the Soviet Union has observed its unilateral moratorium on nuclear explosions for 17 months, the United States has conducted 24 nuclear tests in this time and is preparing for a new series.

Our country has not exceeded the limit stipulated by the SALT-II treaty. The United States has deliberately exceeded these limits by deploying 133 B-52 strategic bombers with nuclear cruise missiles and the MX ICBMs with multiple warheads.

The Soviet Union has not only "frozen" the number of its medium-range missiles in the European part of the USSR -- it has also reduced their number by dismantling, in particular, the launch equipment for these missiles on the Kolskiy Poluostrov and the greater part of its launch equipment in the rest of the territory of the Leningrad and Baltic Military Districts. During this period the United States, on the other hand, has increased the number of American medium-range missiles in Europe to 364 units.

The USSR has not withdrawn any of the proposals it made in Reykjavik. The American side, on the other hand, is constantly going back on the proposals it made in the Icelandic capital, attempting to conceal its "slippery retreat" with crude falsification and forgery. Convincing examples of this were cited at a recent USSR Foreign Ministry press conference. President Reagan was prepared in Reykjavik to pledge not to renounce the ABM Treaty for 10 years. Ten days later Kampleman, head of the American delegation in Geneva, said the United States could not unconditionally pledge not to renounce the treaty and could only discuss with the Soviet side the "rules" for renouncing the ABM Treaty.

With regard to strategic offensive weapons -- in Reykjavik the President agreed to the elimination of all offensive strategic weapons over a 10-year period. [paragraph continues]

At the Geneva talks the U.S. delegation is only prepared to discuss the question of eliminating ballistic missiles.

With regard to medium-range missiles, the American delegation is seeking to gain the right to deploy medium-range missiles on U.S. territory in such a way as to be able to strike the territory of the Soviet Union.

The litmus test making it possible to unerringly determine the direction of Washington policy is the present administration's desire to accelerate implementation of the "Star Wars" program with the aim of gaining military superiority over the USSR and creating a "first strike" potential.

Under U.S. influence, NATO continues to delay in answering the Warsaw Pact's specific proposals of June 1986 regarding a substantial reduction in armed forces and conventional arms in Europe.

On 13 January, in a message to the Senate, the U.S. President expressed the administration's willingness to agree to ratify the 1974 Soviet-American Threshold Test Ban Treaty and the 1976 Treaty on Underground Nuclear Explosions for Peaceful Purposes. It could appear to the ill-informed that Washington's approach is at last showing some positive improvement. On closer inspection, however, it emerges that this is simply a maneuver designed, to quote THE WASHINGTON POST, to block U.S. Congressional approval of an amendment banning the United States from carrying out nuclear tests.

As M.S. Gorbachev stressed in his reply to a message from the mayor of Hiroshima, "we still remain loyal to the idea of a general moratorium. Even in the event of the USSR's being forced to resume nuclear explosions it will be prepared to reintroduce the moratorium if the same decision is taken by the American side.

"We firmly believe that ending nuclear explosions is the simplest way to stop the arms race. Whether or not this way will be cleared and unblocked depends entirely on the United States.

"It is time for everyone to draw the firm conclusion that the policy of acting from a position of nuclear strength and the policy of nuclear blackmail have become totally obsolete."

The Soviet Union intends to continue to consistently and resolutely offset the U.S. administration's irresponsible course with its own policy aimed at disarmament and the creation of comprehensive security.

The scandal in the White House caused by the disclosure of the secret arms supplies to Iran has greatly undermined the administration's position in the United States itself and abroad. Many American observers are now conjecturing as to how the White House will find a way out of its present unprecedented difficulties: whether it will embark on foreign policy adventures or seek accords with the USSR. Former U.S. Under Secretary of State Eagleburger has voiced the opinion, for example, that a Soviet-American agreement on nuclear arms limitation in the present circumstances would be given support in the United States by "the left, the right, and the center."

It goes without saying that there are also other, more weighty factors involved here -- factors of an economic nature, compelling the American ruling class to give serious thought to its future course. [paragraph continues]

After all, the U.S. state debt has risen from 1.5 to 2.5 trillion dollars in the time the present administration has been in power. This is the outcome of American imperialism's illustory, impossible attempts to exhaust the Soviet Union in a nuclear arms race. The world cannot depend on the choice made by the White House. The elimination of nuclear weapons and the prevention of an arms race in space is a vital task for all states and peoples, large and small, because mankind's survival depends on it. At the same time, while waging a consistent fight for universal peace, the Soviet Union does not forego its own security one iota.

Life convincingly shows that a new, sensible way of thinking will gain the upper hand in present-day international relations. There is simply no going back on Reykjavik.

TATARNIKOV ON NEED FOR CONVENTIONAL ARMS TALKS

PM221051 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Jan 87 First Edition p 4

[Major General V. Tatarnikov article: "Arms Reduction Is an Urgent Task"]

[Text] The disarmament program put forward by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, in his 15 January 1986 statement is working. It is forging ahead and fostering hopes of removing the intolerable arms burden from the peoples' backs.

In addition to the removal of weapons of mass destruction -- nuclear and chemical weapons -- from states' arsenals, the USSR and its Warsaw Pact allies have proposed that conventional arms and armed forces be the subject of agreed reductions. The signal for movement in this direction could be provided by an accord on a comprehensive and deep reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals.

The two world wars, which inflicted cruel suffering on the European peoples, were waged with armaments customarily called conventional. Nowadays many of them are close to means of mass destruction in terms of their destructive effect. A war using them could be fatal for European civilization. The solution of the problem of reducing armed forces and conventional arms in Europe is urgent.

This view is shared by many European countries.

However, not everyone in the West thinks this way. In response to the realistic and balanced program for the reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe proposed by the Warsaw Pact states, the West puts forward a strange argument about NATO's "insufficiency" of them, which, they say, must be made up. As THE WALL STREET JOURNAL reported, E. Rowny, the U.S. President's special advisor, is proposing a "leap forward" in the conventional arms sphere. He puts forward a concept in the form of an ultimatum: either "successful talks" on "equalizing" the levels of both sides' conventional armaments (meaning a unilateral reduction by the Warsaw Pact), or a sharp increase in the combat potential of U.S. and NATO conventional armaments so that they exceed the Warsaw Pact states' potential.

This concept is based on the infamous "Soviet military threat" thesis. However, it is so ramshackle as to cause an ironic smile even in the NATO countries. [paragraph continues]

The practical steps taken by the USSR and other socialist community countries to reduce the level of military confrontation shows they are not setting themselves goals aimed at achieving unilateral advantages which infringe other peoples' security. The Warsaw Pact states' military doctrine is geared toward defense. They will not resort to military actions against other states unless they themselves are the target of aggression

Disinformation about the Warsaw Pact's supposed superiority over NATO in the conventional arms sphere began back in 1948. Then, for the first time, the United States began deploying atomic weapons (more than 90 B-29 strategic bombers) in Europe. Since the USSR did not possess such weapons at the time it was necessary to justify this militarist step in the public's eyes. Thus the propaganda justification -- "the USSR's superiority in the conventional arms sphere" -- was born. Since then this disinformation has been circulated in Europe and is particularly intrusive when NATO is adopting new conventional arms modernization programs.

Of course, well informed people know there is no imbalance. After Reykjavik this fact was publicly acknowledged for the first time by U.S. Secretary of State Shultz and White House Chief of Staff Regan. However, the U.S. propaganda services are continuing to deliberately distort the picture of the correlation of forces. When making comparative calculations they do not take into account NATO's mobilizational and manpower resources, reserve formations, and stockpiles of arms and hardware; they leave out of the calculation on the NATO side the French and Spanish armed forces and the bloc forces under national commands; and they overstate the figures for the Warsaw Pact armed forces and understate their own.

If you assess the correlation of forces objectively rather than for propaganda purposes, you can see that there is an approximate balance of forces between the NATO and Warsaw Pact armed forces in Europe. And that is recognized not only by the U.S. leadership but also by competent military experts in Europe.

Thus the real basis for major reductions of armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe exists.

The Warsaw Pact states' position on this question was clearly set out in their Budapest appeal. It proposes a substantial reduction in all components of the European states' ground forces and tactical strike aircraft as well as in the corresponding U.S. and Canadian forces and facilities deployed in Europe. Operational-tactical nuclear armaments with a range (radius of operation) of around 1,000 km would be reduced along with conventional armaments. The proposed reductions would be made throughout Europe -- from the Atlantic to the Urals -- while constantly maintaining military equilibrium at lower levels without prejudicing anyone's security.

As a preliminary step it is proposed to carry out over 1-2 years a single [razovyy] mutual reduction of 100,000-150,000 men per side in the number of troops belonging to the states of the opposing military-political alliances. Immediately after that the Warsaw Pact states would be ready in the early nineties for a reduction in the ground forces and tactical strike aviation of the two alliances in Europe of approximately 25 percent in comparison with the present level. Such a reduction would amount to more than 500,000 men from each side. The reduction would amount to more than 500,000 men from each side. The reduction in armed forces and conventional armaments would be carried out under reliable and effective verification [kontrol], including on-site inspections [inspektsiya na mestakh].

The USSR and its allies believe the problem of armed forces and conventional arms reduction on a Europe-wide scale should be examined in an all-European context. The Warsaw Pact states are quite flexible regarding the formula of the talks. In their opinion, however, the best forum for these purposes is the second stage of the Stockholm Conference on Confidence-Building Measures and Security and Disarmament in Europe. This is logical since disarmament questions are already part of that conference's mandate. Furthermore, all European states have an interest in the relevant process. For instance, it is impossible to ignore or exclude from the talks those neutral and nonaligned countries which have already contributed to reaching accords on confidence- and security-building measures. The exclusion of this group of states from the disarmament talks would mean preventing them from taking part in the all-European process.

At the Vienna meeting of CSCE states the Polish delegation submitted a draft document on supplementing the Stockholm conference's mandate with questions of reducing armed forces and arms in Europe and on the parallel examination of confidence- and security-building measures. The majority of member-states saw this document as a constructive step on the path toward disarmament.

NATO took a long time to reply to this initiative from the socialist countries. When, to promote practical talks, the Warsaw Pact states proposed meetings of NATO and Warsaw Pact working groups, a meeting between Marshal V.G. Kulikov and General B. Rogers, and a meeting between the Warsaw Pact's authorized representative and NATO's secretary general, the response to this was essentially negative.

In December 1986 the question of talks on reducing armed forces and conventional arms in Europe was examined at a NATO Council session in Brussels. But the "Brussels declaration" which it adopted did not provide an adequate reply to the Budapest appeal. Instead of talks on reducing armed forces and conventional arms in Europe, the NATO countries are actually proposing talks on some imaginary "imbalance" in the sides' military potentials. Leaving aside the unacceptability of the very premise of "imbalance," such an approach may turn into a discussion of figures dragged out for many years. We have already experienced NATO's number-juggling at the Vienna talks on the mutual reduction of armed forces and armaments in central Europe, and there is no point in repeating that.

The "Brussels declaration" takes the whole problem of reducing armed forces and conventional armaments beyond the framework of the all-European process, but the NATO countries do not answer the questions of where, when, and how the corresponding talks are to be held.

The so-called "NATO response" shows the Atlantic bloc's leaders would like to make a vicious circle out of the problems of freeing Europe from nuclear weapons and reducing the level of confrontation in the conventional arms sphere. The elimination of nuclear weapons on the continent is blocked by references to the absence of confidence-building measures in the conventional arms reduction sphere and the path to conventional arms reduction is obstructed by artificial linkages, conditions, and stipulations. That position will not lead to progress on disarmament, which is the aim of the European peoples, who demand a world without palisades of missiles and mountains of weapons.

The Warsaw Pact states have submitted their proposals on this matter. The European peoples now await a constructive move from the United States and the other NATO states.

GERASIMOV HOLDS BRIEFING ON POLICY ISSUES

Discusses CPSU Plenum

LD300227 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 29 Jan 87

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] At the press center of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Moscow today there was a briefing on current issues of international policy. Speaking at the briefing Gerasimov, head of the USSR Foreign Ministry's Information Directorate, said in particular:

[Begin Gerasimov video recording] It seems everyone recognizes the seriousness of our intentions to expand democracy, although there are sceptics who think this will not be achieved in our country because of difficulties in our way.

It can be said the plenum was met with tremendous interest in the world press. Most often it has been a benevolent interest, but at times it has been a guarded interest. It has been a benevolent interest on the part of all those who want to see the Soviet Union assured of itself and accordingly want to see the Soviet Union as a calm and responsible partner in international affairs. Typical in this regard has been a pronouncement by Italian Prime Minister Craxi. He said the present signals -- meaning the signals from Moscow -- need to be perceived attentively and approached without preconceptions and without prejudice. Italian Foreign Minister Andreotti has said -- I am quoting from the newspaper LA REPUBBLICA -- that what is taking place in Moscow -- all these new things -- should be appraised in the United States as approving signals for imparting fresh impetus to the dialogue between the two superpowers and for a resumption of the dialogue interrupted in Reykjavik.

As for the interest on the part of those on their guard, it is forthcoming from those who fear a growth of the international prestige of the Soviet Union, which of course will be an inevitable consequence and result of the restructuring and renewal of our society. It is precisely those people who would find it completely to their liking if our country were to suffer from recession and backwardness.

There is no doubt our work together in the coming few months will take place under the influence and banner of the January Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. [end video recording]

Replies were given to numerous questions from journalists.

Cites Reagan's Address

LD291504 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1358 GMT 29 Jan 87

[Text] Moscow, 29 Jan (TASS) -- In his State of the Union address to Congress President Reagan verbally proclaimed U.S. readiness for dialogue but in fact spoke in a spirit of confrontation, Gennadiy Gerasimov, chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Department, said at a briefing here today. In particular, the President tried to blame the USSR for tension in the world and for the failure of the Reykjavik meeting and cited false data about Soviet military expenditure. The USSR Foreign Ministry representative recalled the U.S. side came empty-handed to the Icelandic capital and was unable to present anything apart from its old proposals.

The United States' insistent striving to push through its Star Wars program undermined the possibility of an understanding in Reykjavik. This program and the task of limiting the arms race are incompatible.

Is it possible to combine a willingness to arrange dialogue with the USSR with the stereotyped assertions about the "Soviet threat," "Soviet expansionism" and so forth, which have already been repeated ad nauseam, and which were strewn throughout the U.S. President's address?

The President asserts that "as a result of the efforts to restructure U.S. might, the world has become a safer place." It is scarecely possible to find an assertion further from reality than that thesis. Yes, the U.S. military might has increased during the time that the present administration has been in office thanks to accelerated militaristic measures. This is a fact. It is also a fact that the $1.5 trillion which Washington has thrown into military preparations has resulted in an unprecedented intensification of the arms race throughout the world, which is now on the threshold of transferring this arms race to space. International security, including U.S. security, has not increased but on the contrary has decreased, the USSR Foreign Ministry representative stressed.

Condemns U.S., Seoul Maneuvers

LD291512 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1400 GMT 29 Jan 87

[Text] Moscow, 29 Jan (TASS) -- The "Team Spirit-87" joint military maneuvers of Washington and Seoul are one of the largest demonstrations of military might in the immediate proximity of the borders of the USSR and the DRPK in peacetime conditions, Gennadiy Gerasimov, representative of the USSR Foreign Ministry, stated at a briefing here today. He stressed that the USSR condemns such provocative actions by the U.S. and South Korean military in the south of the Korean peninsula and deems them an attempt to exacerbate international tension in this region and to wrech the possibility of dialogue between North and South Korea.

Cites FRG SDI Participation

LD291644 Moscow TASS in English 1619 GMT 29 Jan 87

[Text] Moscow January 29 TASS -- According to reports in the Western press, a firm named "Institute of Solid-State Lasers" was set up in West Berlin in December 1986 which, as is pointed out, will take part in work under "Eureka" programme and will be geared to research on the U.S. SDI programme, Gennadiy Gerasimov, spokesman for the USSR Foreign Affairs Ministry, said at a briefing here.

"As far as we know," he said, "this 'institute' is being set up on the basis of a laboratory at West Berlin's technical university. It should be noted in this connection that in real fact a West Berlin institution might find itself involved in research on the U.S. Strategic Defense Initiative which has military applications," Gerasimov pointed out.

The spokesman of the USSR Foreign Affairs Ministry emphasized that that contradicted the demilitarized status of West Berlin and ran counter to the principle of the Quadripartite Agreement on West Berlin according to which the situation there can not be changed unilaterally.

Discusses DRA

LD291425 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1352 GMT 29 Jan 87

[Text] Moscow, 29 Jan (TASS) -- The process of national reconciliation in Afghanistan is gathering pace despite the fact a number of counterrevolutionary groupings have adopted an obstructionist stance, Gennadiy Gerasimov, representative of the USSR Foreign Ministry, stated here today at a briefing. He reported that to date more then 7,000 former enemies have come over to the side of the Afghan Government. Up to 10,000 refugees have returned from Pakistan. According to some estimates there are in Iran up to 80,000 Afghan refugee families who are prepared to return home. However, the Iranian authorities are not allowing them to leave for Afghanistan.

The Afghan Government has made a proposal to the authorities of Iran and Pakistan to organize special flights to help those Afghans wishing to return to their homeland to fly to Kabul or to other Afghan cities. No reply to this proposal has yet been received by the DRA Government from Iran or Pakistan, the USSR Foreign Ministry representative noted.

LOGINOV ON NEW FOREIGN POLICY THINKING

LD260131 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1800 GMT 25 Jan 87

[From the "Foreign Reports" program; no video available]

[Excerpts] It becomes obvious daily that in the Soviet Union even the most sensitive issues of the social and political system are not tabboo. [passage omitted]

The crux of the following interview is that 3 years ago not only the replies would not have been heard, but the questions could not have been put by my colleague, Andras Sugar, whose interview is with Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister V.P. Loginov.

[Sugar] These days we hear much about the new style of Soviet diplomacy, the new way of thinking in foreign policy. How would you illustrate this new style practically, in your everyday work?

[Loginov in Russian with superimposed Hungarian translation] Our basic stance today is that in the international arena, the only possible solution to issues is one that is acceptable to our partners too. This is a new feature. International security and the security of our state can be guaranteed only under one condition, that we take into consideration that other states' security. This is a completely new attitude. For this reason, we ourselves have begun to move more actively; this applies to our foreign minister, other leaders in the ministry, the deputies, as they say in the West, the department heads, or as we say, heads of departments and main departments, the specially empowered ambassadors, and so on.

In our opinion, every initiative has to be in harmony with our homeland's interests, but at the same time they must correspond to the interests of the states involved. What is more, it is desirable, to every state on earth -- as ultimately, it is in the interests of all of us -- that the world should be a more secure and habitable place for all.

[Sugar] I am glad you brought up the concept of interest, as somehow in the past, the concrete interests of individual states were blurred. For example, it was stated that in the socialist community there was a complete unity of views and interests. It seems to me now, that every country articulates more clearly and independently its own concrete individual interests within the socialist community. I am not even talking here of the socialist countries outside the community such as China and Vietnam, which are almost warring against each other [word indistinct], although they too are socialist countries. In the new situation today, which new methods and mechanism, in your opinion, are available to express the interests of the socialist countries?

[Loginov] Above all, we now have more talks with each other. I think this is the most important. If we compare how much our leaders talked, consulted, met with each other, then we see that this did not occur in the past as often as it does now. There is no precedent for this. For example, if I remember correctly, last year Soviet and Hungarian leaders, the highest ranking leaders, met four times. I do not recall such a precedent. These days the political advisory body of the Warsaw Pact, and the foreign ministers' committee meet regularly; so do the various work groups, both in the warsaw Pact and in the wider circles of the socialist countries. This is the main thing.

[Sugar] The historical traditions in this part of Europe have developed in such a way that between the individual neighboring small states there are very many sensitive, delicate quesetions. How do you think these kinds of differences, which often develop between neighbors in the sphere of national mistrust too, can be stopped? Currently there are many examples of this in the Balkan peninsula and in central Europe, too.

[Loginov] I think you phrased the question very correctly, as it contains the answer too. When any kind of difference crops up, people must sit down together and try to find solutions that are decent, mutually acceptable and satisfy both sides, however much time it takes. This is my answer to your question.

[Sugar] Certain comrades educated in Marxism used to say airily sometimes that this or that socialist country, in its own practice, is offending the principles of Marxism-Leninism when it executes reforms in its own peoples' economy or social life. Do you think there are irreconcilable differences between the individual countries?

[Loginov] I do not think this is a matter of differences, rather I think this is unconcealed interference in the internal affairs of others. I think that not one country, not one leading party should be deprived of its right to carry out this or that kind of experiment. It is another question whether the others should examine these experiements, and adopt what can be realized in their own circumstances. I think this is how the quesion should be put, and certainly not that everyone arbitrarily (?criticizes) the others, that one is acting correctly and one is not. To this end, the true test is social practice. With what real results the countries strengthen socialism, solidify socialist relations, and increase people's welfare, and the multifaceted nature of building socialism -- all this is not a blemish, but on the contrary, an embellishment of socialism.

IZVESTIYA ON USSR, U.S. ASIA-PACIFIC POLICIES

PM261537 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Jan 87 Morning Edition p 5

[D. Volskiy article: "The Delhi Declaration and the Modern World: Barrier to Confrontation"]

[Text] Soviet proposals aimed at strengthening security and developing cooperation in Asia are receiving more and more suport on the continent, while the untenability of attempts to sow doubts as to the feasibility of practical steps in this direction is becoming more and more evident. The opponents of a collective approach to security in Asia claim that it meets some "special aims" of the Soviet Union in the region and counter the program proposed by our country by citing the need to settle regional conflicts individually.

What answer can one give to this? Yes, we do have our own "special" aim in Asia, namely, that the Soviet Union's Asian land and sea border -- the longest in the world -- be calm and that there be no situations in this part of our world fraught with the threat of war. Is this really at variance with the interests of the other states of Asia?

From our standpoint, ensuring security and genuine, equal cooperation on the continent and in the Pacific would also make a large contribution to strengthening international peace as a whole. As for regional conflicts, there are acutally more of them in Asia than anywhere else. Some blaze threateningly like the Iran-Iraq war, others smolder away unseen, for example, as on the Korean peninsula, but could be equally dangerously explosive. It is obvious resolving each of them will be much simpler if the general atmosphere in Asia and in the Pacific and Indian Oceans becomes less tense. Conversely, Asian security as a whole will benefit greatly from the settlement of local conflict situations.

The Soviet proposals on this score are not just good intentions as they are sometimes depicted. They are taking shape at this very moment, as it were, and are being reinforced by practical actions. The USSR's suport for the program of national reconciliation put forward by the DRA leadership, its readiness to resolve the question of the return of the Soviet military contingent, which, as the USSR foreign minister stated in Kabul, is "not far off," and the withdrawal of six regiments from afghanistan that has already been carried out are all realities of the new political thinking. The withdrawal -- scheduled for April-June -- of a motorized rifle division and several other units of the Soviet troops temporarily present on Mongolian territory is a quite new example of the manifestation of these realities.

M.S. Gorbachev's official friendly visit to India and the Soviet-Indian documents signed there, particularly the Delhi Declaration on the Principles of a World Free of Nuclear Weapons and Violence, have had an important positive effect on the situation in the region. The declaration contains not only a political meaning but a profound meaning as a world view and philosophy. Countries with different socioeconomic systems agreed to a common platform designed to prevent war and save civilization.

The document, for all its global significance, is of special value to Asia. It has shown the sort of potential that exists both for increasing its peoples' contributions to the cause of general security and for improving the political climate on the continent itself and in adjoining regions.

"Progress in this direction," the Soviet-Indian Joint Statement stresses, "could be achieved in phases..." This phased approach -- from the simple to the more complex -- was put forward 1 year ago by the Soviet Union, which proposed holding an "Asian-Pacific Helsinki" as a realistic, albeit long-term goal. This involves not a mechanical transference of European experience but its creative use in the light of the realities and problems of the region. Such a conference naturally demands serious, careful preparation, hastiness here being neither feasible nor desirable.

The most immediate task today is seen as follows: Bilateral talks, multilateral consultations, the creation of an atmosphere of trust and a constructive attitude to the problems of Asia, that is to say, everything the leaders of the USSR and India, and indeed a whole number of other Asian countries, have advocated.

It is instructive to see that opposition to implementation of the idea of a joint search for ways of ensuring security on the continent does not come from Asia and its peoples. The main source of this opposition comes from outside Asia. It lies in the schemes of imperialist circles, particularly those in the United States.

Let us recall the recent American-Japanese maneuvers in the Sea of Okhotsk, the decisions on supplying South Korea with Lance missiles capable of carrying nuclear charges, the installation of cruise missiles on ships of the 7th Fleet, which ply the Pacific and Indian Oceans, and the accelerated expansion of military installations in Micronesia and on Diego Garcia atoll -- that is to say, on territories Washington is colonizing illegally.

The geographical location of American bases in the region, including those where nuclear missiles are stored, and the range of the missiles and aircraft ready to deliver them to potential targets all indicate it is not just socialist but also the developing and nonaligned countries of Asia that are in their lethal sights. The story of the secret deliveries of American weapons to Iran has confirmed again the United Stated is deliberately kindling regional conflicts in Asia. Who, after "Irangate," will believe these conflicts flare up and burn on their own, without American "gasoline"? Washington needs them to sap the strength of the Asian peoples and create pretexts for interfering in their affairs and maintaining tension in Asia.

No one denies America's legitimate interests as a Pacific power -- not just American soldiers but American businessmen too travel across the Pacific. However, these interests have nothing to do with Washington's course of destabilizing Asia. The rejection of neocolonialist diktat could help introduce into practice the principle of genuine mutual benefit, benefit for all, and consequently establish lasting and just peace throughout the Pacific and Asia as a whole.

"We again urge all interested states," M.S. Gorbachev said on welcoming Najib, general secretary of the PDPA Central Committee, to Moscow, "to pursue joint or parallel courses toward this goal and to seek optimal solutions to the complex problems of this enormous part of the world that suit everyone..."

Without lapsing into exaggerated optimism, it can be noted that while this movement has not yet built up the necessary momentum, it has nevertheless speeded up since the signing of the Delhi declaration. The Soviet Union's specific proposals on strengthening security in Asia are also finding increasing understanding in Asia.

"Recently, particularly since the Soviet-Indian summit in Delhi in November, these proposals have acquired a new importance," Delhi's PATRIOT newspaper observes. "The initial indifference has suddenly disappeared, and even countries which have always opposed everything Soviet have intimated they are ready to think about the USSR's proposals."

The documents signed in Delhi convincingly demonstrated the Soviet Union does not at all seek to impose any models of economic development of sociopolitical systems on the independent Asian states. Our country bases its policy on respect for the right of "every people to make their own choice -- social, political, and ideological --" which is enshrined in the Delhi Declaration. The Soviet Union is successfully developing relations with virtually all countries on the continent, including those which the United States high-handedly considers as falling within the American "orbit."

Parallel courses? There is also movement there. The treaty on a nuclear-free zone in the South Pacific came into force last December. Noteworthy trends have been observed in Southeast Asia, where a number of ASEAN countries are showing a desire to improve relations with the states of Indochina. In south Asia, despite the conflict situations, the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation is beginning to put its words into actions.

Perhaps all this is not directly connected with such large-scale undertakings as the Soviet proposal for the Asian-Pacific region or the Delhi Declaration. They have given a new boost to positive processes taking place in Asia and the Pacific, whose peoples are becoming increasingly aware of the vital need to fight for a peaceful and safer future and a new approach to solving the region's problems.

'TOP PRIORITY' PROGRAM ADDRESSES U.S. POLICIES

LD242356 Moscow in English to North America 0000 GMT 24 Jan 87

["Top Priority" program, presented by Pavel Kuznetsov, with Radomir Bogdanov and Sergey Plekhanov "of the Moscow-based Institute for United States of America and Canada Studies"]

[Text] [Kuznetsov] It's been 6 years since the Reagan administration assumed office. By next Wednesday we will know definitely what's ahead for the United States and for Soviet-American relations in general, in the remaining 2 years of the administration's tenure, because on 27 January, President Reagan is scheduled to make his regular State of the Union Address. So for this edition of "Top Priority", I suggest that we take a retrospective look at a, well, how shall I put it, what has been achieved in Soviet-American relations during these 6 years and perhaps what has not been achieved during this period. I don't think we should dig into anybody's personal qualities, that is what makes a good President and perhaps what makes a not so good one, so let's concentrate on Soviet-American relations. Who is going to get the ball rolling?

[Bogdanov] It's a very good question, but it's not a fair question. I mean by that, that if you put that question say 3, 4, 5, 6 months ago, then I would say it was a fair question. Now, when the administration passing through tremendous difficulties with the well-known Irangate or whatever you call it, your question sounds a little bit, you know, yes, provocative.

[Kuznetsov] Asking loaded questions is provocative, right?

[Bogdanov] Yes, these are the fair questions, but -- you know, I would divide it into two parts. As to the American problems, that is their business, and I wouldn't like to touch it upon. [as heard] Let them judge themselves how the Reagan administration was successful in the domestic scene. But there is one field which is of great concern to all of us sitting around this table, and I mean Soviet-American relations. And, you know, honestly, that's very easy question to answer, because there's no record of Soviet-American relations. There is a (?destruction) of Soviet-American relations, consequent (?destruction) by this administration beginning from treaties and ending with, if you like, the spirit of Soviet-American...

[Kuznetsov interrupts] But this is still a record.

[Bogdanov] Yes, if you call this a record, Pavel, OK, let it be a record. To be serious, you know, if you look at the structure of the Soviet-American relations, which were built up within the last 15 years, it was something like about 40 Soviet-American agreements, beginning from prevention of nuclear war, principles of the Soviet-American relations, two SALT treaties, ABM treaties, then some other agreements on transportation, in some economic cooperation.

[Kuznetsov] Cultural.

[Bogdanov] Even cultural programs. On heart, you know, artifical heart [as heard] and so on and so forth. Something like 40. It was, if you like, it was a solid base, legal base for the Soviet-American relations. What is left now, if I'm going to answer your question?

I'm sorry to say nothing is left, but ABM Treaty which is in very, ambiguous, you know, state, because if you interpret that in the large sense, as they call it, you know, or liberal, loose interpretation, then there is no more ABM Treaty. So I really wonder, what should I answer, what should I say about that question.

[Kuznetsov] I think you've already said enough on that, I mean, calling it an [word indistinct] record (?in Soviet-American relations).

[Bogdanov] Well, yes, I don't know what is my friend Sergey's opinion about that, but that's my feeling. I'm sorry, really.

[Kuznetsov] Professor Bogdanov, I don't think I quite agree with you when you say that the domestic field is up to the American people, their government, the Senate, what have you, to decide, because, for example, the United States is perhaps the biggest debtor nation. The current debt stands at over $2 trillion, and this is largely because of the tremendous military spending, so some of the domestic problems are I think interconnected, and very closely at that, with foreign policy, and in this connection my question to you, Professor Plekhanov: The Reagan administration's military buildup is being described as the single most important factor which had enabled the United States to deal with the Soviet Union from a position of strength. Now this is what President Reagan himself said in his weekly radio address on 17 January. Currently there is quite a good deal of probing of public opinion and that on the Capitol Hill, concerning early deployment of what is described as a thin layer of protective space weapons by the early 1990's at a cost ranging from $100-200 billion. Do they want to go broke completely? Do you think that (?the idea) is technically feasible or sane? What is this early deployment all about? What's your view about that?

[Plekhanov] I think it's a desperate attempt to change the situation in the favor of those who do want to continue this job of destroying arms control treaties and trying to give the United States military superiority, because the doubts are mounting concerning the wisdom of going ahead with this SDI program. The program itself is undergoing some changes, and it's clear that building a shield which would or an astrodome which would protect the United States from Soviet missile is a pie in the sky, there's no possibility...

[Kuznetsov interrupts] So what's the purpose...

[Plekhanov interrupts] of building that. Well, a limited type of an ABM defense which would not protect the United States from a first strike by the Soviet Union but would be very good to complement the American first strike capability which would make the United States military posture far more threatening and dangerous.

[Kuznetsov] I don't think anybody believes in a Soviet first strike in the first place.

[Plekhanov] Of course, there is no such thing. The Soviet Union has renounced the first use of nuclear weapons, while the United States continues to adhere to the doctrine of first use of nuclear weapons.

[Kuznetsov] Which makes the whole idea all the more sinister.

[Plekhanov] That's right, but the question of this speed-up in the SDI program is very serious, because the tenure of the Reagan administration is drawing to a close; they have lost control of the U.S. Senate. There is a greater resistance to some of the more extreme programs and policies in the military sphere.

[Kuznetsov] There's a credibility gap; the Irangate affair.

[Plekhanov] That's right, there is a credibility gap and they're worried that as their time is running out, some of their programs may be curtailed or dismantled by the new forces arising in American politics. And they want to make this last lurch, this last push, so as to lock the U.S. Government, lock the political process into continuing...

[Bogdanov interrupts] And I'm sorry, Sergey, not only this government, but rather the next government.

[Plekhanov] That's right, well, I mean the U.S. Government in general.

[Bogdanov] U.S. Government in general.

[Plekhanov] Yes, regardless of the administration.

[Bogdanov] That is the great design, you know, to make their policy any other government's policy.

[Plekhanov] Yes, and also...

[Bogdanov interrupts] That's the design.

[Plekhanov] That's right, and also there is a mechanism of Soviet-American arms control, and they want to destroy that too, because when you, well, destroying is always much easier than building, especially when you're talking about building trust and agreements between two large powers who are potential adversaries.

[Kuznetsov] Since this administration announced its Star Wars program in 1983, it has been described as a purely research program and there have been other statements explaining what SDI was all about. As far as I remember, President Reagan himself told a group of Soviet journalists who interviewed him in the White House, a couple of years ago, in 1985, that a defensive shield would not be put into space until we did away with our, all our offensive weapons -- he meant nuclear weapons. When such a statement comes from an American President I think that it should be taken for what it is. Such a statement completely, absolutely rules out even a hint at cheating, deceiving, misleading, etc. So it's supposed to be a responsible and serious statement from an American President. Let us go to [as heard] and see what happened in Reykjavik when such a compromise, when such a deal -- I mean getting rid of nuclear arms at the expense of space weapons -- was so close at hand. What happened then? How serious was President Reagan in 1985?

[Bogdanov] You know, Pavel, I came long ago to the conclusion which is becoming a firm belief that any American administration, and especially this administration, has at least two policies. One is which I call a declaratory policy, and the other one which I call operational policy, and they never mix. One is meant for public opinion, for the allies, for the other states, but there is another button, you know, that's the operational policy, what they are really doing. And you take the latest example of, you know, declaratory policy that they would never deal with any terrorist state, they would never supply arms, they would never do this and that and you know...

[Kuznetsov interrupts] They would never trade hostages for money.

[Bogdanov] They would never trade hostages for money, but their operational policy was quite different. [passage indistinct] He sanctioned that [words indistinct] You know, to be frank I'm not interested, really, was it, was he informed, has he sanctioned that or not? That is their business because that is the quality of the President, you know. [laughs] Does he know or does he not know. But I would like to relate all that to the questions you put and I would not be surprised, you know. You mention that interview in the White House, but you didn't mention one thing, that several hours after that the White House denied all that; they said no.

[Plekahnov and Kuznetsov] They disavowed the President.

[Bogdanov] They disavowed the President. The same happened in Reykjavik. We have on the record, you know, on the written record, that he has agreed to destroy all...

[Kuznetsov interrupts] Strategic offensive arms, and even all nuclear weapons.

[Bogdanov continues] All nuclear weapons. Ok, now they say not, he didn't (?mean that). That's the operational policy, declaratory -- what the President said often was a declaratory. So after Reykjavik he was once again disavowed. Once again. So what I'm aiming at is that you should not be surprised. That's the American political, you know, practice. That's the American political culture, if you like, and it all begins with the elections, you know. You look at any candidate. He promises hundreds of things, but immediately it's over all comes to usual (?trick), you know, the operational policy begins. So that's inherited, that's built in the American political culture. But I, they should imagine, they should think one day it makes difficult for any other state to keep normal relations with that kind of political culture.

[Kuznetsov] Perhaps they don't care about, about the difficulties, about the other side.

[Bogdanov] That's another point, that's American narcissism, you know, that they look at the other side as something meaningless, you know. Maybe, maybe, it's a high time to think over that the other side is also meaning something, it also has some interesting, [word indistinct]. You know what I mean?

[Kuznetsov] Yes, you are going to say something, Sergey.

[Plekhanov] I think this arrogance toward the rest of the world and this belief that America can do whatever it likes in international affairs is the most startling thing about the policies of this administration. You know, people who live in glass houses, just like everybody else on this planet. And I think the chickens are coming home to roost and I think they are already reaping the results of what they had sown. I think Irangate is symbolic in that effect. I mean, they threw their net around the world so widely and so boldly in all these machinations and arms sales, and financing of the contras, and what have you, and it has taken just one article in one small Lebanese newspaper to destroy that house of cards.

Because the world is so interdependent; it's a large global village where it's increasingly difficult to say one thing and do another thing, to hide people from (?the things), from public view, and no matter how big and powerful the United States is it will be taken to account for what it does, and I think this is one of the lessons of the Reagan administration, and unless this administration learns this lesson and takes, makes the approriate conclusions, it will take another administration to do that.

[Kuznetsov] So there is no trust between our two countries and in the world in general because there is no disarmament, and there is no disarmament because there is no trust. I've heard this argument about trust and disarmament being totally separate, independent things. As time is running out on us I'd like both of you to comment on this argument and perhaps suggest a way out if you can.

[Bogdanov] You know, Pavel, my logic is very simple. OK, we have no trust. To build up a trust it's a very long way and a very difficult way. If you don't disarm, if you pile arms, you are (?piling) another mistrust, you know. But imagine for a while. OK, you have no trust, but at the same time, on the parallel, you are disarming...

[Kuznetsov interrupts] [Words indistinct] taking some concrete steps to reduce the arsenals.

[Bogdanov] To reduce deadly arsenals. By this itself, you are reducing, you know, mistrust. Less arms you have, more trust you have on the [words indistinct] I'm aiming at (?defining) that: disarmament first, then trust. What do you think of my logic, Sergey?

[Plekhanov] Yes, I quite agree with it, I quite agree with it.

[Kuznetsov] The less arms we have, the more trust there will be. But there's another aspect, and that is just being truthful about each other. Do not build up myths, destroy myths about each other and I think that in terms of myth-making about the Soviet Union, about communism, this administration has been recordbreaking because it has revived some of the worst and most deceitful stereotypes, crudest stereotypes about the Soviet Union. It has poisoned the minds of the American people. I'm not afraid of these strong words, and I think it is symbolic that it is during the tenure of this administration that the ABC is putting forward this series called "Amerika," which is, I think, a disgrace for America.

[Kuznetsov] Yes, I agree, but why disgrace?

[Plekhanov] I mean they are putting themselves in disgrace by just showing it, because everybody knows about that and everybody's just anguishing over how a country like that can do a thing like that.

[Kuznetsov] Yes, stoop so low as presenting itself as being conquered, raped, abused, and so on. I mean, not a single small nation has put out so many films of it being conquered by another nation. I mean, do they take relish in being constantly abused, or what?

[Plekhanov] That's right.

[Bogdanov] A kind of a complex you know.

[Plekhanov] Yes, maybe that's because the United States has never really been invaded by anybody.

[Kuznetsov] I don't know. What madness, sheer madness.

[Bogdanov] The sheer madness created by this administration. I'm sorry to state that.

[Plekhanov] Yes, they bear a large share...

[Kuznetsov interrupts] From my point of view such a film is totally unpatriotic.

[Plekhanov] That's right. That, that's my -- I think you're right.

[Kuznetxsov] Well, our time is up. I thank you for coming to our studio, addressing our listeners. I'd like to say that if you have any comments or suggestions or questions, to our panel, please don't hesitate to write to us and our address is Radio Moscow, Moscow, the USSR. I am Pavel Kuznetsov, signing off till next week at the same time and on the same wavelength. Goodbye.

BOVIN, PRIMAKOV ON REAGAN'S REMAINING TENURE

PM270959 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No. 4, 25 Jan 87 p 6

["MN Discussion Club" feature comprising articles by Aleksandr Bovin and Yevgeniy Primakov under general headline "Washington as Partner in Dialogue"; first two grafs are unattributed introduction"]

[Text] On January 15, 1986, the Soviet Union put forward a programme for the establishment of a nuclear-free world, for ensuring humankind's survival. Is the present U.S. administration, shaken as it is by a number of political blows, able in the last two years of office to undertake serious reciprocal steps for disarmament, in the development of Soviet-American dialogue?

Their impressions on this theme are shared by political analyst Aleksandr Bovin and Academician Yevgeniy Primakov.

Before the End [subhead]

[Bovin] A lot has been said and written about the luck of President Reagan in the six years since he took office. During this period he has said and done what he shouldn't have and even sat back and dozed off when he shouldn't. Some people felt sorry for the President, while others mocked and sneered at him. But Ronald Reagan has always got out of tight situations, not only through luck but also through being an experienced and hardened politician, a skilled manipulator.

As a politician he has consistently defended the interests of the social groups that nominated him, and has enjoyed their invariable support.

As a manipulator, he has keenly sensed the sentiments of the "average American" and was able, relying in the traditional features of American mentality, to strengthen fierce nationalism, make hypocritical morality more boisterous and bring to psychosis the fear of the "Reds", fostered for decades.

Reagan's supporters frequently declare that their idol's popularity is second only to Franklin D. Roosevelt's. Statistically this is right. But in actual fact, their popularity radically differs. Franklin D. Roosevelt was popular because he led America into the modern world and tried to adapt it to this world. Ronald Reagan is popular because he promises to bring the country back from hectic and frightening changes to the world of the traditional values of the all-powerful America chosen by God. The initials F.D.R. will remain forever as a symbol of an American in step with the times, whereas the letters R.R. will hardly manage to go further than the presidential term.

Are these statements too bold? I don't think so. They are based on the events and on the beginning of the tendencies taking shape and coming into being before our very eyes.

The first major leak in the President's ship sprang up after Reykjavik. Those for and against the President could not but realize that the head of the U.S. Administration was unable to get a grasp on complex matters of modern strategy.

The second hole in the ship was punctured in the mid-term elections on November 4. Democrats defeated their opponents whose only consolation was that the votes were cast not against a "good" president but against "bad" Republicans. This consolation was a comfort only to those who preferred to overlook the facts. Reagan visited 22 states where he campaigned for the Republicans. But they still lost. This means that the euphoria created by Reagan is vanishing, that changes are beginning to set in and that the public opinion is moving, though slowly, from the right to the centre.

The final hole in the sinking ship relates to "Irangate". Many of the facts are still unclear. But the important thing is that the President has grossly violated U.S. law and deceived Congress and the allies. He knew this. He acted thus because he considered himself above the Constitution and above all these "trifles" which only stand in the way of the great America. The presidential team behaves, writes the well-known journalist Leon Wieseltier in THE NEW YORK TIMES MAGAZINE, as if respect for realities is unworthy of a great power. "At all times they are absolutely certain of their own rightness. It is never in need of a proof; it is rather taken as a premise."

It is obvious that with such an approach facts and policies exist by themselves. According to this approach to lie, to contradict oneself and dodge questions does not mean to distort facts but only to put together other "facts", which the administration considers to be correct and corresponding to its viewpoint. The weekly THE NATION writes that the post of the U.S. President is occupied by a liar. He tells lies regularly, deliberately and always at a time when it suits his policies. He is not the first liar to take office in the White House but he is, perhaps, the first to make a lie the U.S. Government's preferable style.

In this case it is not so much a moral censure, as a statement of the style and methods of pursuing a foreign policy. The impression is that many Americans who were hynotized for a long time by the President's confidence, optimism and energy are now somewhat embarrassed, each time seeing how the facts given by the White House differ from those in the outside world. They are sick and tired of these lies.

Everything seems to indicate that the absurd appeals for a crusade against communism are also making people sick and tired. After all, those who do not want to be "red", surely do not want to be dead either.

At any rate, the White House is under siege. Although the neoconservatives defending it are still strong, they now lack the erstwhile unity and inspiration. After "Irangate" Reagan will hardly retain his former popularity. There are two more years for him to "reign" but much less to rule.

Well, everything that has a beginning also has an end. For quite a long time, if nothing unexpected happens, we shall have to deal with Ronald Reagan. But his Presidency is coming to an end. That's why we should already think about the "post-Reagan" period.

Yes, Before the End But... [subhead]

[Primakov] My friend Aleksandr Bovin, who is one of the top political analysts in this country, suggests that we should start thinking about the "post-Reagan" period. It always pays one to consider the future, particularly when one takes up politics. The tone of his commentary prompts the conclusion that Reagan is a figure of the past.

Aleksandr Bovin is, of course, quite right to say the renunication of the Reykjavik understandings, the U.S. Congress mid-term election results, and, specifically, "Irangate", have all had an effect on the President's prestige. But Reagan is still someone to be reckoned with. The "once existing unity and enthusiasm" among the new conservatives backing Reagan may not exist any more, nevertheless Reagan's continuing popularity among average Americans shouldn't be underestimated. The false "Reagan image" skillfully created by the President himself and the propaganda emanating from his "headquarters" still counts with average Americans. This is an image of a President who has uprooted the "Democrat weaklings" and has made other countries reckon with American muscle, who has done away with one blow with America's Vietname syndrome.

Far from everything in America is easy to grasp. According to Bovin, Reagan's popularity is only second to Franklin D. Roosevelt's. However, many of the Americans I talked to, experts in their country's affairs, when asked about most popular 20th-century U.S. Presdient, named Harry Truman who in the view of non-American political observers didn't win recognition in the field of serving his country or humanity. Still, that's the Americans' opinion. The bulk of them still seem to support Reagan, flying in the face of facts and logic even. There should be an awareness of this, and, I think, this is something to be reckoned with.

And last but not least, Reagan's muscle also stems from the extraordinary powers of a President, provided for by the U.S. Constitution. Bovin is right that the President cannot be automatically stripped of his powers once he has violated U.S. law and has put himself above the Constitution in the "Irangate" affair. He can be stripped of his authority only through a non-confidence vote passed by the Congress. But, by all accounts, this is not going to happen. The Democrats who are in control of both houses in Congress will not profit by Reagan being replaced with the "fresh" Bush of an untarnished or slightly tarnished reputation. In the two years remaining before the presidential elections, Bush can gather enough strength to press his candidacy.

The dialectic of the complex reality manifests itself in the fact that, while remaining strong, Reagan is actually weak. What conclusion is to be drawn from this? To think more about the post-Reagan period? [paragraph continues]

One shouldn't discard the possibility of Reagan being eager to make history, thus finally giving up blocking the way to reaching with the USSR accords on important disarmament issues. It would have been unfair to say that all Reagan was doing at Reykjavik was trying to diffuse the possibility of reaching accords with the USSR, that was steadily taking on a definite shape. The President has also had his "bright moments", which still leaves some of the hopes for the future afloat.

In any case, I do not wish to argue with Bovin, because I'm sure he thinks the same, that the efforts to promote our country's initiatives should be maintained during the remaining two years of Reagan's presidency. This is the only way to try to penetrate mentally the situation that will take shape after the term of Reagan's office is over.

PRAVDA'S GAN ON REAGAN'S 'DISAPPOINTING' SPEECH

PM291311 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Jan 87 Second Edition p 5

[Own correspondent V. Gan dispatch: "'Recipe for Impasses': The U.S. President's Message"]

[Text] Washington -- U.S. President R. Reagan delivered the traditional "State of the Union" message today at a joint session of the Senate and the House of Representatives of the U.S. Congress. White House officials had earlier advertised the President's speech as "one of the most important" in all the years of his administration's rule. It was expected that the President would try to restore the sharply reduced public confidence in the White House and dispel the profound dissatisfaction with his policy which has grown up especially as a result of the scandal over the machinations concerning illegal arms deliveries to Iran.

As the ABC network noted, the President's speech "could have been a step in the right direction." It could have been, but it was not; it turned out to be more of a mockery of the country's hopes and aspirations. It contained no new constructive initiatives. Despite objective facts to the contrary, the President tried to draw a rosy picture of America for which, according to his words, "the best days have only just begun" and which "we can all be proud of."

The White House incumbent laid special stress on the unprecedented leap forward of U.S. militarism, claiming that "as a result of efforts in the restructuring of America's might the world has become a safer place." In this context he tried to justify the latest request for appropriations to the Pentagon by means of crude, hackneyed fabrications about "lagging behind the USSR" and about "Soviet expansionism."

The U.S. approach to arms control talks with the USSR was portrayed in a false light. The President's words gave the impression that "the United States has presented the Soviet Union with serious, fair, and far-reaching proposals" which created "a rare opportunity for arms reduction." Scorning logic, Reagan arbitrarily placed responsibility for the failure of the Soviet-American meeting in Reykjavik on...the USSR. "They sought to cripple our Strategic Defense Initiative -- SDI. I wouldn't let them do it then. I won't let them do it now, or in the future," he declared. The President did not deem it necessary to heed the opinion of his own scientists and specialists, who regard the "Star Wars" program as incompatible with arms control. Instead he claimed without offering any substantiation that "it is the most positive and promising defensive program." [paragraph continues]

Thus, swearing allegiance to the interests of the military-industrial complex and the opponents of all measures to curb the arms race, Reagan warned Congress that he would veto "any attempt to undermine our national security."

The course toward disrupting USSR-U.S. military parity was essentially based on claims, repeated in the message, to global supremacy and to the role of ruler of the destinies of countries and peoples. Contrary to earlier expectations, the President showed no inclination to apologize for the attempts to interfere in the internal affairs of Iran and destabilize its government.

Admitting that "errors" had been committed in the course of these attempts, Reagan declared: "The aims were worth it."

The head of the administration literally swore that he would support the anti-Nicaraguan terrorists in every way, declaring that he would "fight any effort to shut off" the flow of U.S. military aid to them. All this was accompanied, in the same breath, by cheap anti-Soviet fabrications and appeals for a normalization of relations between our two countries which the President mentioned.

The sharp criticism which the President's message immediately provoked was not in the least surprising. Speaker of the House J. Wright and Senate Democratic leader R. Byrd, in a joint response, sharply criticized virtually every point of the White House incumbent's speech. The leaders of the Democrats in Congress proved by means of well-reasoned arguments the bankruptcy of the administration's policy, "the gulf between rhetoric and reality, which we cannot tolerate and which makes it impossible to preserve people's confidence in the administration." The ABC television network noted: "The President has not changed his basic positions either on 'Star Wars,' or aid for the 'contras,' or the budget. His program is a classic recipe for political impasses in the coming years." Most probably, there is truth in these words. It is clear that after the President's message Americans have a great deal about which to feel disappointed.

PART TWO OF IZVESTIYA SERIES ON PRC REFORMS

PM231007 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Jan 87 p 5

[Second part of report by special correspondents I. Laptev, V. Romanyuk, and Yu. Savenkov: "China: Paths of Reform"]

[Text] Beijing-Shanghai-Harbin-Shenyang -- 2. The Family Contract [subhead]

Between the industrial landscape of Chinese cities and cultivated rural land there is usually no transitional area like Russia's customary copses, grass plots, and shrubbery. The fields cultivated with the utmost love and care were one of our strongest impressions of our trip to China. They extend over many hundreds and perhaps thousands of kilometers. We travelled by train from Harbin to Beijing, and throughout this journey the landscape scarcely changed. Endless fields and rice paddies divided by boundary strips and bare of any grass, Chinese villages devoid of embellishment, and the cones of low-lying granaries sailed past outside the railcar window...

Some 800 million Chinese live in the countryside. Since 1979 there have been drastic changes there. In Beijing we had a talk with Du Runsheng, director of the CPC Central Committee Secretariat Rural Policy Research Center.

Inasmuch as the rural communes were initially geared toward the "common stock" and essentially no one in them bore responsibility for production development, it was important to cut the Gordian knot and, while retaining public ownership of the land, buildings, and production materials, to increase peasants' activeness. But how? Perhaps they could introduce set wages, as in the city, for labor in the countryside? They thought about it. But they chose a different path: Retaining the right of collective ownership of the land, they transferred the right of economic management to individual families and groups of people.

Du Runsheng set out before us what we think is a not entirely unimpeachable model. Without commodity exchange, he said, the operation of the law of cost is weakened and there is no competition; without competition there is no social assessment of labor and consequently no sifting out of everything unsuitable.

But if we leave behind theoretical deductions, we can see the main features of the reform in the countryside: the introduction of the system of the peasant household's production responsibility and the development of trade exchange. For many years grain was purchased here at the lowest prices -- even now they are not high, although they have doubled recently. But now market prices operate alongside state prices.

In Jiading district, near Shanghai, we visited Malu region, which is widely known in the country. On both sides of the stone-paved street we were confronted with rows of neat little houses with wide loggias; everywhere there were sheaves of rice straw, and wash was flapping on long bamboo poles... Zhu Jiabao, chairman of the regional people's government, offered us the traditional tea. An unhurried conversation started. But what we learned from our conversation was striking. It turns out that in 1986 the region's revenue was five times its 1978 revenue. But the phenomenal growth has a rather prosaic explanation: Over these years the production structure in the region has changed drastically, and agriculture, which in China has always been a low-profit business, provides only 5 percent of the region's income. Auxiliary production facilities provide a similar amount. And 90 percent of its revenue? It is provided by... local production enterprises. What kind of a miracle is this?!

We looked with amazement at the strips of the fields from which the harvest was recently brought in, and we looked in vain for traces of neglect. No, agricultural production has remained the regional government's main concern. And our talk turned to problems of improving the family contract in which specialized households are now being singled out. None of the leveling down which ruled undivided in the former communes! Instead of bureaucratic administration, production relations in the countryside are regulated with the aid of the economic mechanism. And the discrepancy between advantageous and disadvantageous crops is regulated with the aid of prices, taxation, credit, and long-term loans. When you have settled up with the state under your contract, you can sell your surplus at free prices on the market.

Daily life in the rural household has changed. Whereas in the seventies three prestige items -- a bicycle, a clock, and a washing machine -- and later a ventilator, a divan, and a black-and-white television set constituted a high standard of affluence, today the three such items are a refrigerator, a washing machine, and a color television set.

"We encourage the growth of each person's prosperity," Zhu Jiabao said. "The state has duties to the household: Grain is purchased at set prices irrespective of the market situation and honoring the contract in full. A bonus of 2 fen is paid for every 500 grams of grain sold over and above the plan. For instance, peasant Xu Jimming sold 12,500 kg of above-plan grain. His bonus was 700 [figure as published] yuan! In addition, for every 50 kg of grain sold to the state under contract a peasant may acquire 3 kg of fertilizers and 0.5 kg of fuel."

But what if the terms of the contract are not fulfilled? The peasant forfeits the right to buy chemical fertilizers, diesel fuel, and industrial goods at a set price. And the market prices for these articles are as a rule considerably higher than state prices.

The introduction of market prices for agricultural products has already led to a general increase in prices. For instance, milk and dairy products and confectionery have increased drastically in price. Industrial goods are also becoming more expensive alongside the increase in prices for raw materials. Nonetheless, the market system in the countryside is continuing to expand. With a view to enhancing peasants' production activity, "floating prices" have been introduced for all types of agricultural produce except grain and cotton.

We walked along the village street with Zhu Jiabao. We entered a spacious courtyard. As in neighboring yards, golden grain was drying on a concrete platform, and mushrooms were gleaming on racks under an awning. A family of six ocupied half of a standard two-story house. Downstairs were the kitchen, larder, and equipment storage, and on the first floor were two living rooms.

Housewife Ge (Khueyin) invited us upstairs. A color television set, a two-compartment refrigerator, several thermos flasks, and a sewing machine -- everything was in its place. In one corner was an old chest; the owners' wardrobe was evidently not that extensive. In pride of place, set one on top of the other, were beaten metal trunks -- like thermos flasks almost every home has them. On the bare cement floor were several pairs of straw slippers. There was no heating in the house. Zhu Jiabao, who accompanied us, said that south of the Yangtze River it is generally the custom not to heat housing. But this question was recently discussed at a general meeting of settlement inhabitants.

Four generations live together in the house: Ge (Khueyin) and her husband, her mother-in-law, her son and his wife, and her grandson. By Chinese standards the household is a prosperous one. The family grows grapes on an area of 0.5 hectares. This year there was a good harvest, and they sold the state 5 tons of grapes.

In the house opposite we met with a young woman, Fan Yanping, a youth organizer at a local factory. The house is clean. In pride of place is a certificate awarded to her sister's husband. We hear cheerful stories about young people's evenings at the club and what is new at the cinema. Young people do not leave the settlement. Work is found for everyone, though not always to their liking, it is true.

Here is what is perplexing: Of the 12,000 inhabitants of the rural region only 1,300 are employed in working the land. The others have had to change the nature of their occupation. Some workers moved to the auxiliary farm, which maintains 18,000 hogs and raises fresh-water fish. In general, every able-bodied person is obliged to raise at least one hog a year. The region also produces cotton, oil crops, vegetables, and fruit, and almost every household grows mushrooms. The regional government, which has replaced the former commune, does not interfere in the small details of the peasant household's daily life.

Under the terms of the contract, land is rented to the household for a specific period. The charge of using 1 hectare of land is 220 yuan a year. In the opinion of Zhu Jiabao the rental period should be increased, and then peasants would care better for preserving the soil's fertility. (According to the figures in the Chinese press, 95 percent of all peasant households now work under the family contract. They receive a plot of land to use for up to 15 years).

The reform in the Chinese countryside goes back to the third plenum of the CPC Central Committee, 11th convocation (December 1978), which officially supported the long-established system of production responsibility for the end result. The effect was impressive. Let's just mention that the grain crop yield rose 30 percent in the country. During these years progressive technologies were applied. Peasant households acquired the opportunity to buy equipment from the stae, and now two-thirds of tractors are personally owned by peasants. The problem of supplying diesel fuel for this equipment remains very acute. The Beijing newspapers have published letters from the countryside whose authors have asserted that they have not received a drop of fuel for 6 months. There is also a shortage of spare parts. As a result, tractors work approximately 200 hours a year, including nonproduction time.

Later we were familiarized with the organization of the family contract in the north of the country, in Heilongjiang Province. Here, too, specialized households are being created, but they each take not 0.5 but 30-40 hectares of land under contract, and in addition to grain they grow vegetables, flax, and ginseng on these plots. Here we finally saw small herds of cows and a herd of horses. To whom is the land rented? The answer: to those who obtain the best result. That is, to those who are richest, who have modern equipment and can buy fertilizers and even hire people in the busy season? Right! But it is also true, it was explained to us, that the "rural businessmen" thus help to resolve the employment problem in the countryside. And if someone does not want to hire himself out, he can find other employment -- open an eating-house, join an association to construct a processing plant, or organize his own business.

We remember again our meeting with Du Runsheng, director of the CPC Central Committee Secretariat Rural Policy Research Center, who gave the following explanation for the processes taking place in the countryside: bringing prosperity to one section of the population to start with and then to all the others. But that is not what is happening! We think that the process of forming vast economic facilities on the one hand and, on the other, forming a stratum of people obliged to sell their labor will have varying results.

Traditionally, leveling down -- a certain emphasis on unanimity -- has been practised in the Chinese countryside. The enrichment of some people always generates hatred in others or, as they say in China, "the red eye disease." [paragraph continues]

And now the Chinese leaders are having to expend considerable effort to persuade the peasants that they must seek general affluence without the fear that some people will become prosperous before others. In principle, the first stage of the reform giving land to the peasant households has proceeded quite easily inasmuch as there has essentially been a resurrection of the Chinese peasants' customary small subsistence farms. The family or household contract has helped to get the countryside out of stagnation and has given every peasant family a parcel of land. And it is this contract which is delaying the creation of large-scale, stable farms in the countryside.

Extensive methods have been exhausted in the family contract system, experts believe. Using means of mechanization on the peasant households' scrappy allotments has proved complex. Intensive factors must now go into operation. Addressing a conference on the "Spark" program -- the plan to modernize the rural economy -- Song Jian, chairman of the PRC State Commission for Science and Technology, noted: The program will be doomed to failure unless specialists come to the countryside. At present in the Chinese countryside there is one agrotechnican for every 466 hectares of arable land, one veterinary surgeon for every 7,000 head of livestock, and one technician for every 160 rural industrial enterprises. The country has 1 million trained agronomists, but only half are working in the countryside.

According to available figures, there is an average of 0.1 hectares of arable land per capita, which is about three times less than the average world level. Hundreds of millions of hectares of arable land have been lost in the past three decades as a result of soil erosion. The Chinese proverb says that "a good tenant is better than a good field." The press is writing with alarm of instances of the illegal use of arable land for various construction operations. They took a drastic step in Hubei Province: They demolished about 9,000 houses illegally constructed on arable land and fined the lawbreakers a total of slightly over 1 million yuan. Nonetheless the quantity of arable land continues to diminish. In a number of cases this is connectd with the sharp reduction in the construction of hydraulic installations. A household is reluctant to assume such expense, and the cooperatives have broken up. It has been calculated that arable land equal to the area of an entire district is being lost every year.

The fate of agriculture and the family contract as its main organizational structure is naturally of concern to society. Which direcdtion will the family contract take? One option -- the farmstead option -- involves large-scale family farms. The press is constantly propagandizing the success of enterprising, venturesome people who, thanks to their talent, have achieved high incomes. In one district of Zhejiang Province a family of nine rented 3.7 hectares of poor-quality land for 15 years. They invested 10,000 yuan to buy implements and to improve the soil. As a result, for 3 years in succession now they have been obtaining an annual profit of at leas 10,000 yuan from the sale of grain and other crops. Another road is the concentration of land contracts and various forms of sharing. Analyzing this path, specialists emphasize its voluntary nature -- sharing imposed from above will only frighten off the masses who still have fresh in their memory the troubles of artificial "communization."

The specific features of the Chinese countryside are largely determined by the presence of a vast manpower surplus. The state is seeking to find something for everyone to do, but that is not easy. The countryside today processes agricultual output, produces construction materials, consumer goods, and art objects requiring painstaking manual labor that are in great demand on the market. Over the 5-year plan about 70 million people have thus been recruited to the sphere of socially useful labor. The somewhat paradoxical slogan, "Leaving the land without leaving your homeland," has thus been realized, and trade in the city and the countryside has received a mass of goods.

But with the growth of the workers' settlements the price of labor has also increased. And at the same time peasants' interest in working the land has also declined. True, we were assured that part of the profit from local industry is plowed back to maintain tractors and to construct nonproduction establishments in the countryside. Understandably, the regional governments would like to approximate profit levels in local industry and agriculture. Unfortunately, this is being done artificially -- through the old leveling down method. All these production facilities are created using funds from the region or from a group of peasants. But their rapid development is aggravating the fuel and raw material shortage. Additional problems are also arising in arable farming inasmuch as new enterprises are being created where arable land used to be.

However it may be, the peasants are eagerly investing their savings in the development of collective enterprises. Formerly wages in these enterprises were paid only according to labor, but now it is permissible to pay wages on the basis of the capital invested. A peasant can keep his savings in the bank or invest them in shares. In a number of places small-scale enterprises have begun to merge into complexes. For instance, the Shanghai bicycle plant has pooled several thousand village production facilities, turning them into branches of the plant.

Chinese economists see a good sign in all this. After all, as a result of the development of collective forms of ownership in China about 200 new cities have appeared, and regional centers are becoming economic and cultural centers in the countryside. Enterprises of this kind also have their difficulties. They are connected primarily with the impossibility of introducing highly productive equipment and the shortage of modern materials, which have to be purchased at three times the price from the owners of private businesses.

We will describe the commodity market in more detail in our final installment.

XINHUA NOTES SOVIET COMMITMENT TO TEST BAN

PM281811 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 22 Jan 87 First Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Consistent, Realistic Policy"]

[Excerpts] The USSR's wide-ranging peace initiatives and the program put forward a year ago to eliminate mass destruction weapons by the end of the century continue to be at the center of the world public's attention. Press articles and statements by politicians and public figures emphasize that the message from M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to the leaders of Argentina, Greece, India, Mexico, Sweden, and Tanzania in connection with the declaration they issued at the end of 1986 convincingly reaffirms the consistency of the Soviet Union's peace-loving policy and its resolve to do everything to remove the threat of mankind perishing in the flames of a nuclear catastrophe. [passage omitted]

Beijing -- The Soviet Union continues to view a complete nuclear test ban as a prime measure on the road to reducing nuclear arms and subsequently eliminating them, XINHUA stressed. The news agency spotlighted the words of the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee that the Soviet Union, even if forced to resume nuclear explosions, will be equally persistent in advocating the start of full-scale talks on the problem, talks which it is prepared to hold at any level and at any forum with the participation of the United States.

MONGOLIAN FOREIGN MINISTER ARRIVES IN MOSCOW

Greeted at Airport

LD291407 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1300 GMT 29 Jan 87

[Text] Moscow, 29 Jan (TASS) -- Mangalyn Dugersuren, member of the MPRP Central Committee, minister of foreign affairs of the Mongolian People's Republc, arrived in Moscow today on an official visit at the invitation of the Soviet Government.

At the airport he was met by Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, USSR minister of foreign affairs, and other officials.

Begins Talks With Shevardnadze

LD300849 Moscow TASS in English 0804 GMT 30 Jan 87

[Text] Moscow January 30 TASS -- Talks were started here today between Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR minister of foreign affairs, and Mangalyn Dugersuren, member of the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, minister of foreign affairs of the Mongolian People's Republic. Mangalyn Dugersuren came to Moscow on January 29 for an official visit at the invitation of the Soviet Government.

ROGACHEV GIVEN CHARGE OF JAPANESE AFFAIRS

OW291337 Tokyo KYODO in English 1334 GMT 29 Jan 87

[Text] Moscow, Jan. 29 KYODO -- Soviet Vice Foreign Minister Igor Rogachev, who was named to the post last August, is now in charge of Japanese affairs in the ministry. This was disclosed when Rogachev met with Japanese Charge d'Affaires Takehiro Togo to discuss the international situation.

He succeeds Mikhail Kapitsa in handling Japanese affairs in the Soviet ministry. Kapitsa is believed to have retired from the post of vice foreign minister in charge of Asian affairs. Kapitsa had handled Japanese affairs since 1984.

Rogachev was named first director of the Far East Department of the Soviet Foreign Ministry in 1983 to take charge of Chinese affairs. He had previously served at the Soviet Embassy in Washington.

U.S.-JAPAN 'ADVENTURIST PREPARATIONS' CRITICIZED

PM231215 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 17 Jan 87 First Edition p 5

[V. Voytenko "Military-Political Commentary": "Conference in Honolulu"]

[Text] The annual Japanese-U.S. consultations on security issues ended a few days ago in Honolulu, Hawaii. U.S. and Japanese top brass and representatives of foreign policy departments discussed specific details of deepening their military cooperation and also examined plans for joint operations involving the two countries' armed forces.

The participants in the conference discussd progress in implementing the secret memorandum on the "joint defense of lines of communication within a 1,000 mile radius of the Japanese coast," signed at the end of last year. [paragraph continues]

As is well known, this document calls for the accelerated buildup of the allies' combat potential and therefore also essentially the further destabilization of the situation in the Pacific region. In this connection, joint U.S.-Japanese operations in the Pacific include the rehearsal of attacks on the surface ships, hunting submarines, mining ports, and landing trops in the Far East.

KYODO notes that an accord was also reached at the Hawaii conference on new steps to broaden the "complementarity" of Japanese and U.S. Armed Forces in terms of weapons, equipment, logistical support, communications, and information exchange. Moreover, the American emissaries informed the Japanese delegation that, at the Pentagon's request, it is planned to allocate $1.55 million in the draft U.S. federal budget for the construction of military installations at the Misawa air base against the eventuality of war involving the use of chemical weapons. There are already installations like these at the Kadena and Iwakuni bases.

During the consultations the United States also confirmed its course of further increasing the number of American nuclear weapon delivery vehicles on Japanese territory. Another squadron of F-16 fighter bombers is to be transferred here this year.

This year's meeting in Hawaii was held at a time when Nakasone's cabinet has decided to exceed the limit of 1 percent of GNP on appropriations for the Defense Ministry's needs. In the opinion of observers, this measure represents an important change in strategic positions. MAINICHI notes that this will make it easier for the United States in the future to make new demands that Japan build up its military potential. It is no accident that the Japanese Government's decision was highly appraised by the U.S. representatives in Honolulu. This decision has also been lauded by U.S. Defense Secretary C. Weinberger, who, incidentally, has not been slow to urge the Japanese Government to take further steps on the path of militarization. In particular, there is talk of Japan taking part in NATO plans to develop and deploy the latest conventional weapon systems and of more active Japanese involvement in the SDI program. Describing Japanese-U.S. military cooperation, Weinberger has frankly said: "If Japan and the United States do everything in their power, we will make an invincible team!"

Talk like this of an "invincible team" leaves no doubt as to the real aims of the adventurist preparations by Washington and Tokyo, which have hypocritically announced a struggle for "stability" in the region. The further strengthening of Japanese-U.S. cooperation, which is based on imperial, revanchist ambitions, poses a threat to international security.

TALKS ON JAPANESE SDI PARTICIPATION END 24 JAN

LD241856 Moscow TASS in English 1120 GMT 24 Jan 87

[Text] Tokyo January 24 TASS -- The third round of talks to work out specific terms for Japan's joining in the U.S. "Star Wars" programme ended in Washington today.

The contents of the consultations are kept strictly secret, KYODO TSUSHIN news agency has reported. Yet it has become known that the sides have decided to continue the talks after next April.

According to press reports, the bargaining between Tokyo and Washington over [word indistinct] for Japan's participation in the U.S. programme has bumped into serious difficulties as local businessmen are seriously worried over the Pentagon's attempts to lay its hands on technological achievements of its Far Eastern ally.

'PROVOCATIVE' U.S.-JAPANESE EXERCISES VIEWED

LD260929 Moscow TASS in English 0813 GMT 26 Jan 87

[Text] Tokyo January 26 TASS -- About 200 officers and men of the U.S. Marine Corps were flown today by an American military transport plane from Okinawa to Hokkaido to take part in Japanese-American joint exercises from January 28 to February 10.

They will practice combat actions in conditions of a cold winter with an abundance of snow.

The provocative nature of these exercises is demonstrated by the venue chosen for them -- Japan's northernmost Hokkaido Island that is closest to the territory of the Soviet Union.

SOVIET-JAPANESE TU COMMISSION SESSION REPORTED

PM231323 Moscow TRUD in Russian 20 Jan 87 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Commission Ends Work"]

[Text] The 19th Soviet-Japanese Trade Union Commission session, in which delegations from the General Council of Trade Unions of Japan (SOHYO) headed by E. Kameyama, secretary and treasurer of SOHYO, and the Federation of Independent Unions of Japan (Churitsu Roren) headed by J. Yamaguchi, deputy secretary general of Churitsu Roren, took part, ended 19 January. The Soviet trade union delegation was headed by V.G. Lomonosov, deputy chairman of the AUCCTU. It comprised G.I. Yanayev, secretary of the AUCCTU; B.A. Averyanov, chief of the AUCCTU International Department; and F.M Korovin, secretary of the Fishery Workers Trade Union Central Committee.

The delegation leaders signed the session protocol, which expressed their desire to further develop ties and cooperation between the two countries' friendly trade union centers.

The commission decided to hold the 16th Soviet-Japanese trade union meeting "For Peace and Friendship Between the Soviet and Japanese Peoples" in the Soviet Union in 1987.

The same day the SOHYO and Churitsu Roren delegations met with AUCCTU Chairman S.A. Shalayev in the Palace of Labor.

During the talk, which was held in a friendly atmosphere, topical questions of the struggle of the two countries' trade unions and working people for peace, nuclear arms limitation and reduction, and the prevention of the militarization of space were discussed.

S.A. Shalayev briefed the Japanese trade union center representatives on the main avenues of Soviet trade unions' activity and their participation in implementing the program to accelerate socioeconomic development, improve the standard and quality of life of our country's working people, and prepare for the 18th USSR Trade Union Congress and the celebrations to mark the 70th anniversary of Great October.

The sides shared the view that in order to advance socioeconomic development, create a new international economic order and defend trade union rights, it is necessary above all to maintain peace, stop the arms race, and channel the funds spent on arms production into solving mankind's most acute problems.

TASS REVIEWS FISHERIES COOPERATION WITH JAPAN

LD300729 Moscow TASS in English 1937 GMT 29 Jan 87

[Text] Moscow January 29 TASS -- TASS commentator Mikhail Vladimirov reports:

Cooperation in the field of fisheries plays an important role in Soviet-Japanese economic regulations. The mutually beneficial ties between the fishermen of the two countries have dynamically developed in the course of three decades, successfully overcoming various trials in connection with changes in the settlement in the field of fisheries at the national and international levels.

The contractual-legal basis of bilateral relations in the field of fisheries is determined by a number of agreements, an important role among which is played by the inter-governmental agreement on cooperation in fisheries of May 12, 1985. In keeping with the provisions of the agreement, a special commission has been set up, whose third session is due to open in Moscow on February 2.

As the USSR Ministry of Fisheries said, the delegations of the two countries are to outline a programme for scientific-technical cooperation in the industry for next year, map out plans for coordinated exploration of fish resources in the north-western Pacific and resolve some other issues. Much attention will undoubtedly be devoted to the catch of salmon fish species.

The U.N. Law of the Sea Convention, parties to which are the USSR and Japan, places on the country of origin of the salmon fish species responsibility for their preservation. In keeping with the provisions of that convention and recommendations of scientists, the Soviet side declares for a total end to the catch of salmon fish species on high seas. Pelagic fishing prevents the migration of these fish species to the spawning grounds, which does great damage to their stocks. In that connection Soviet fishermen have been prohibited to fish such species for many years now.

Agreements were reached at the previous session on a 35-percent cut in 1986 of volumes of pelagic fishing of the salmon fish species of Soviet origin by Japanese fishermen on high seas. The consolidation of that trend, the ultimate termination of such fish catch soon and development of cooperation in the rational use of the stocks of those fish species would accord with the interests of the fishermen of the two countries. The new forms of cooperation being discussed now, in particular, questions pertaining to establishing joint ventures, open up new prospects for a broadening of mutually beneficial ties between Soviet and Japanese fishermen, including in the rational utilisation of the fish resources.

KCNA CITED ON DPRK LEADERS APPEAL TO SOUTH

PM281550 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Jan 87 First Edition p 6

[TASS report: "Proposal on Talks"]

[Text] Pyongyang, 27 Jan -- As KCNA reports, Yi Kun-mo, premier of the DPRK Administration Council, and O Chin-u, DPRK minister of the People's Armed Forces, today once again appealed to South Korean Prime Minister No Sin-young and Defense Minister Yi Ki-paek to accept a letter containing the DPRK's proposals on holding military-political talks between the two sides. The announcement, conveyed by telephone, expresses the hope that the South Korean side will send representatives to Panmunjom to receive the letter on 28 January.

PAKISTAN SECRETLY AGREES TO U.S. RDF PRESENCE

PM291251 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 29 Jan 87 Sole Edition p 3

[V. Vinogradov "Military-Political Commentary": "Secret Agreement"]

[Text] It is not for nothing that people say: There is nothing secret that does not become known. And so it is in this case. The Beirut weekly Al-USBU' AL-'ARABI has reported that a secret agreement exists between Washington and Islamabad providing for the deployment of the American Rapid Deployment Force [RDF) on Pakistani territory. According to the magazine, this agreement was concluded during the visit that U.S. Defense Secretary Weinberger made to Islamabad last October, and it is to be implemented as early as the first days of March.

What, then, does it envisage? It turns out that the Islamabad authorities have consented to their port of Gwadar, where there is a large naval base being turned into the headquarters of one of the divisions in the U.S. RDF. What is more, a significant proportion of that formation's personnel will also be stationed in the region of that base. The agreement envisages concentration sites for the division and sites for the location of its firing grounds, stores of combat hardware, and military equipment.

The facts irrefutably attest that for a number of years the United States has been purposefully turning Pakistan into a bridgehead for intervention with the consent of Pakistan authorities. First the creation of special airfields on its territory, which the U.S. Air force can use in the event of so-called "emergency circumstances," became known; then came permission for ships of the U.S. Navy, including ones equipped with nuclear weapons, to use the country's naval bases; and the construction of stores for heavy armament earmarked for the RDF was begun. And now the RDF itself could appear on Pakistani soil.

The implementation of this agreement will undoubtedly lead to increased military pressure from Washington on the whole region, stretching from the Persian Gulf to Southern Asia. The presence of the American RDF in Pakistan will pose a very serious threat to that security of neighboring countries, for Washington created this interventionist troop expressly for amed interference in independent states' affairs. It is sufficient to recall the sinister role of units and formations of the RDF during the takeover of the Caribbean island state of Grenada or the bloody excesses of Marines of the same RDF in Lebanon.

And here is another aspect of the secret agreement that should be mentioned. In exchange for Islamabad's consent to let the RDF into the country, Washington has pledged to supply Pakistan with aircraft equipped with the AWACS radar system. But here too the United States alone will benefit from this. For it is known that these "flying spies" are so complex to operate that, as is shown by the example of Saudi Arabia, which has already purchased such aircraft, for a very long time only American crews will serve on them. And this means that with the help of AWACS aircraft stationed in Pakistan the Pentagon will be able to keep a vast region under an "electronic cowl." And the intelligence data obtained on the countries neighboring on Pakistan will be placed at the disposal of the same RDF, ready for intervention.

15TH ANNIVERSARY OF TIES WITH BANGLADESH MARKED

LD251548 Moscow TASS in English 1331 GMT 25 Jan 87

[Text] Dhaka January 25 TASS -- The USSR and the People's Republic of Bangladesh today mark the 15th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations.

The people of Bangladesh remember well the Soviet people's aid and support during the struggle for independence and in the period when the republic was built. The Soviet Union, which was among the first to have recognized the young sovereign state, helped forge Bangladesh's international position and at a later stage its adoption to the United Nations.

At the trying time for the republic the USSR sent large consignments of rice and medicines as a gift to the people of Bangladesh. Within the short time-frame Soviet seamen cleared port Chittagong of mines. In February 1972, Soviet ships moored at Bangladesh ports and Aeroflot planes ferried cargoes to Dhaka.

A ceremony to put on line the third, the largest, power-generating unit of thermal power station in Ghorazal under construction with Soviet technological assistance was held on the eve of the 15th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the USSR and Bangladesh.

This unit will enable Bangladesh to increase by 20 per cent electricity production in the country. President Hussain Mohammad Ershad of Bangladesh, addressing the ceremony, called the power station in Ghorazal a symbol of friendly relations between Bangladesh and the Soviet Union and expressed gratitude to the Soviet Government for assistance in developing the national economy.

DRA'S NAJIB INTERVIEW WITH INDIAN PAPER CITED

LD291236 Moscow TASS in English 1217 GMT 29 Jan 87

[Text] New Delhi January 29 TASS -- The policy towards national reconciliation in the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan has an anti-Imperialist slant, Najib, general secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, said in an interview published in the Indian newspaperr "PATRIOT" today. He said that imperialism is trying to use any conflict, big or small, in different parts of the world to undermine peace. The seat of tension will be removed with the settlement of the situation around Afghanistan. Therefore the process of national reconciliation is directly linked with ensurance of peace and security in Asia, Najib said.

The general secretary of the PDPA Central Committee said that Afghanistan and India are both active members of the Non-aligned Movement and play an important part in settling different conflicts in Asia and around the world. The Delhi declaration signed during Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to India indicates the way to achieve peace and security, he said.

On the other hand, Islamabad, backed by the Reagan administration, has been the source of tension in the region in recent years. The threat remains because the United States is giving tremendous financial and military aid to the Government of Pakistan and American advisers are staying in that country.

At present, Najib went on, we are carrying out the first post-revolutionary five-year plan for economic and social development. This plan surpasses in scale all the previous ones. It must be underlined that the plan was prepared in the conditions of an undeclared war. The people of Afghanistan received it as a vitally important task and are successfully putting it into practice.

DRA GOVERNMENT ISSUES DECREE ON AMNESTY

LD260844 Moscow TASS in English 0807 GMT 26 Jan 87

[Text] Kabul January 26 TASS -- The Presidium of the Revolutionary Council of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, acting in accordance with the decisions of a special plenum of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and the DRA Revolutionary Council's declaration of a national reconciliation policy, has endorsed a decree on amnesty.

BAKHTAR news agency said the decree absolves the members of the opposition groups from responsibility for their anti-government activities conducted before January 15, 1987, on condition of their non-resumption of these activities.

The decree also relieves several categories of convicts of punishment for their crimes against the country's security.

Persons not included in these categories may be pardoned on the basis of appropriate requests by emergency commissions for national reconciliation and peace jirgas (councils), if these people guarantee they will not resume their criminal activities.

The amnesty does not cover those condemned for acts of terrorism, blasts and espionage.

Those pardoned are fully reinstated in their rights as DRA citizens.

Responsibility for enforcing the decree lies with special commissions consisting of representatives of the emergency commissions on national reconciliation, the State Security Ministry, the Interior Ministry, the Special Revolutionary Court and the Special Revolutionary Procurator's Office.

CONTINUING REBEL ACTIVITY IN DRA NOTED

PM291349 [Editorial Report] Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian on 22 January 1987 in its First Edition carries on page 3 under the headline "In the Afghan People's Interests" an 800-word own correspondent Major A. Oliynik Kabul dispatch on the course of the cease-fire proclaimed by the DRA Government as part of the process of "national reconciliation." Stating that "most Afghans" support the process, Oliynik lists details of tribes returning to certain provinces from abroad, but then concludes:

"The situation in Afghanistan's border regions has heated up yet again. At the DRA Interior Ministry, I was familiarized with instances of violations of the cease-fire. The bandit formations led by Ahmad Shah Masud in the Panjsher, (Jelaluddin) in Paktia Province, and Mullah (Malang) in southern Afghanistan have been continuing to shell towns and peaceful villages and sabotage the roads. Recently the gangs even tried to seize the border town of Barikowt. The towns of Charikar, Baghran, Qandahar, and many others have been periodically subjected to rocket and mortar attacks.

In this complex situation, the DRA Government is doing everything to restore peace and tranquillity in the country. Tomorrow Kabul residents in various parts of the city will go to meet the first groups of refugees to return home from abroad, and numerous national reconciliation rallies will be held."

AQUINO SAYS PHILIPPINE ARMY IN 'FULL CONTROL'

OW290017 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1130 GMT 28 Jan 87

[From "The World Today" program presented by Eduard Mnatsakanov]

[Text] Although the attempted military coup has failed, the situation in the Philippines remains very tense. [video shows demonstrations in Manila] In Manila the television building remains in the hands of mutinous troops. Fidel Ramos, chief of the General Staff of the Philippines Armed Forces, has appealed to the coup organizers, many of whom are supporters of the country's former President Marcos, to immediately lay down their arms to avert further bloodshed.

He reported that government troops blocked all approaches to the capital in order to prevent new military or civilian groups from attempting to enter the capital from other areas of the country. At the same time an extraordinary meeting of the cabinet has been held in the presidential palace. [video shows President Aquino and other officials at a meeting] It was chaired by the country's president, Corazon Aquino. She reported that the Army has been placed on extra alert and is in full control of the situation in the country.

More From Aquino

LD291419 Moscow TASS in English 1350 GMT 29 Jan 87

[Text] Manila January 29 TASS -- President Corazon Aquino has made a statement in connection with the coup attempt made by a group of the military and the forthcoming plebiscite scheduled for February 2.

She pointed out that the developments of the past week were indicative of violent efforts by the opponents of a new constitution to destabilize the government and to frustrate the holding of the plebiscite on a draft fundamental law of the country.

She said the government and the state electoral commission were doing everything within their power to ensure order during the polling but that the enemies were still capable of interfering with that.

The president stated the need to give a boost to the activities of the organizations which had ensured victory to her at the 1986 presidential elections, and called on the people to display their strength in unity.

U.S. SEEKS STRONGER ROLE FOR PHILIPPINE ARMY

LD281626 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1030 GMT 28 Jan 87

[Boris Andrianov commentary]

[Text] According to reports from Manila, about 200 armed rebels who took part in the attempted military coup in the Philippines are continuing to occupy the television station building in the capital. The Philippines chief of staff of the Armed Forces, Ramos, has ordered the rebels to lay down their weapons immediately. He has reported that the attempted military coup could be part of a wider conspiracy in which political figures are involved. I am handing you over to commentator Boris Andrianov:

[Andrianov] The events of the recent weeks in the Philippines provide full justification to say that the situation in the country is becoming ever more tense.

Literally 5 days ago in Manila troops fired on a peaceful demonstration of land reform supporters who were on their way to the presidential palace. This bloody atrocity provoked the indignation of the Philippine public, which evaluated the shooting as a political provocation. For this reason, one can't help but gain the impression that someone is deliberately inflaming the situation at the moment in the Philippines, where it is planned to hold a referendum on 2 February on the republic's draft new constitution.

It has to be stressed that this document is of a compromising nature. By this very fact it reflects the quite complex placing of class and political forces in the country. By and large the draft new constitution does not affect the supremacy of the propertied classes, but, at the same time, as a certain tribute to the passage of time, it contains certain concessions to the leftist forces in their struggle for the alleviation of the ordinary Filipino's lot.

As the time of the referendum approaches, the right-wing forces of the opposition have become noticeably more active. This camp draws in politicos who consider that they have been done out of their fair share under the present president, Corazon Aquino. Next to them there are also bureaucrats of the former Marcos regime who have been removed from power, and also a part of the military who do not conceal their open dissatisfaction with the course of the new leadership, particularly its soft treatment of the leftist forces.

The right-wing opposition is striving at all costs to wreck the adoption of the new constitution, since it will allow Corazon Aquino to retain her powers as head of state until 1992, and they are calling for the holding of extraordinary presidential elections.

The worsening of the situation in the Philippines is in no small degree also fostered by the actions of Washington. This was stated at a news conference held in Manila at the end of last week by the leaders of the People's Party, which was set up a few months ago on the basis of a number of progressive organizations. They reported that the United States has begun to put into effect a plan to attack the democratic forces of the Philippines. Washington intends, in particular, to gain a stronger role for the Army in the country's political life, and this is already beginning to make itself felt now, when the military leaders are taking all the credit for exposing the conspiracies, which have become more frequent, and for the lightning suppression of coups like the present one. In this way the Armed Forces are obtrusively presenting themselves in the role of the only reliable buttress of the Corazon Aquino administration. However, the firing on a peaceful demonstration on 22 January shows that the Philippines' military can turn their weapons in an unexpected direction.

THAILAND CONTINUES PROVOCATIONS ON PRK BORDER

LD292336 Moscow TASS in English 1431 GMT 29 Jan 87

[Text] Phnom Pehn January 29 TASS -- Thailand is continuing to heighten tensions on the border with Cambodia. During the period from January 17 to 24, Thai artillery repeatedly shelled border heights inside Cambodian territory, firing up to a thousand rounds a day, the Cambodian News Agency SPK has reported.

Thai Air Force planes invaded Cambodia's air space, while armed Thai boats repeatedly violated Cambodia's maritime borders.

Units of the republic's People's Revolutionary Army curbed numerous attempts by the Thailand-based Khmer reactionaries to penetrate inside the country to continue subversive activity against Cambodia's legitimate government, the SPK report said.

REPORTAGE ON ISLAMIC CONFERENCE SUMMIT IN KUWAIT

Moscow Foresees Positive Result

NC241353 Moscow in Persian to Iran 1100 GMT 23 Jan 87

[Unattributed commentary: "An Amicable Solution to the Iran-Iraq War Has Become the Focus of the ICO's Attention"]

[Excerpts] The scheduled ICO [Organization of the Islamic Conference] summit session will be convened in Kuwait on Monday, 26 January, with the participation of 40 members. A series of chronic and pressing issues involving the Near and Middle East is on the agenda. If this organization is successful in resolving these problems to some extent and in creating a semblance of peace, it undoubtedly will do a great service to those nations that are wallowing in blood and subject to the whims of the region's conflicts.

An amicable solution to the problem of the bloody war between Iran and Iraq, which is in its 7th year, is one of the fundamental issues on the agenda of this session. Both Iran and Iraq are members of the ICO, and this is not the first time that ICO members have tried to persuade these two neighboring countries to sit down at the conference table. It is indeed regrettable that all of the innovative efforts exerted to date have not yieled the desired results. On the contrary, a renewed escalation of the war has been witnessed in the past few weeks, as a result of which the danger that armed conflict will spread in the region has increased.

Therefore, if the participants in the ICO summit in Kuwait are truly determined to secure an end to the Iran-Iraq war, they face a formidable task. Still, any favorable results of their efforts would have an immediate effect in improving conditions in the region, in the Islamic countries, and within the Nonaligned Movement. The political furor that has come to be known as Irangate has proven that the imperialist forces, spearheaded by the United States, are using the Iran-Iraq war as a pretext to increase their military dominance and their interference in the internal affairs of the region's countries.

Thus, they are adding fuel to the fire of the war and are provoking the two neighboring countries to continue their fratricide and bloodshed. The Soviet position is the very opposite. From the very outset of the fighting between Iran and Iraq, the Soviet Union has consistently endeavored to bring about a halt to the war, believing that it hurts both Iran and Iraq. [passage omitted]

Both the chronic Palestinian problem and the issue of Afghanistan also will be discussed at the ICO session at Kuwait. The Western media, particularly those of the United States, are optimisic that differences among the participants in the Kuwait session will obstruct the solidarity of the Islamic countries and will impede the solution of outstanding issues. Hence, it is not without reason that the Syrian paper TISHRIN wrote in a commentary on the ICO summit in Kuwait that there are some leaders of the Islamic countries who have been primed by the Americans and who are expected to work in various ways to prevent the adoption of correct decisions at the conference, acting from selfish motives.

Despite all this, it is expected that the decisions made at the ICO summit will prove that consideration of the greater interests of the member countries will overrule all others, defeating the selfish designs of any given leader. The national interests of the region's countries dicatate that, above anything else, the explosive differences in the area must be eliminated so that stability, peace and tranquillity can prevail.

Pravda Reviews, Assesses ICO

LD261051 Moscow TASS in English 0753 GMT 26 Jan 87

[Text] Moscow January 26 TASS -- The fifth conference of the heads of state and government of the member countries of the Organisation of the Islamic Conference (OIC) opens in the Kuwaiti capital today. Commenting on this event, "PRAVDA" 'S special correspondent in Al-Kuwait Vladimir Peresada writes:

The OIC, which was founded in 1969, groups 45 Asian and African states in which the Moslem religion is the dominant one, and also the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO). Not all of the member countries will attend the Al-Kuwait summit, however. The decision on suspending the membership of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan (DRA) in the OIC remains in force. It was passed several years ago under pressure from imperialist and reactionary forces. Iran boycotts the meeting, motivating its decision by the presence of Iraq at it.

A conference of foreign ministers held in the run-up to the summit meeting drew up the forum's agenda. It shows that the OIC has considerably expanded the sphere of its interests over the passed years.

The first OIC conference, for instance, was largely devoted to the issue of "defending Islam's holy places in Jerusalem." The opening fifth forum intends to discuss the foremost problems of our time, among them, strengthening world peace and security, fighting colonialism and racism, and settling regional conflicts.

Judging by what is said in the lobbies of the summit meeting, the forum will give center stage to the task of securing the earliest end of the Iran-Iraq war although definite forces in the OIC and outside it undertook quite a few attempts to make the conference focus on the "Afghan issue." As was the case in the past, this issue was included in the agenda of the meeting.

The proceedings of the OIC conference will show whether its participants will be able to approach the situation around Afghanistan with account of the national reconcilation process started on the initiative of the DRA Government, or counter-productive attitudes splitting the ranks of the Moslem countries themselves will pravail.

Supreme Soviet Greets Chairman

PM261627 Moscow IZVESTIYA Russian 26 Jan 87 Morning Edition p 1

[Text] Moscow, 26 Jan (TASS) -- The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium sent the following greetings message to chairman of the fifth conference of heads of state and government of the member-countries of the Organization of the Islamic Conference Shaykh Jabir al-Jabir al-Sabah:

"On behalf of the peoples of the Soviet Union we greet you and all participants in the fifth conference of heads of state and government of the member-countries of the Organization of the Islamic Conference.

"Your organization unites more than a quarter of the world's countries, linked not only by common religion and cultural historic heritage, but also by a natural striving common to all people on earth for peace, freedom, justice, and prosperity.

"The present summit meeting of the Organization of the Islamic Conference is held at a troubled time. Huge stockpiles of lethal weapons that accumulated in the world threaten mankind's very existence. The line separating our planet from nuclear disaster is becoming increasingly fragile. The forces hostile to peace harbor plans to militarize outer space, stir up hotbeds of regional conflicts, and sow the seeds of confrontation and distrust among nations.

"It is now needed as never before to pool the efforts of all states and peoples, large and small, in the struggle to preserve our main common boon -- peace and life on earth. Whether humanity will survive advancing to ever new summits of development and progress depends on this.

"In questions of war and peace, the Soviet Union without hestitation made its political choice in keeping with the realities of the nuclear and space age. Peace initiatives encompassing a broad scope advanced by the USSR and its allies, the initiatives aimed at the removal of the threat of war, ending the arms race and achieving disarmament and the consolidation of the mainstays of international peace and universal security, and that aim at strengthening confidence and cooperation among nations are in the mainstream of new political thinking, which is ever more confidently gaining ground in the international arena. The Delhi declaration, which clearly illuminated practical roads to the creation of a nuclear weapons free, non-violent and safe world is a striking prototype of new interstate relations. The contribution of all states and peoples, regardless of their political, economic, social, religious and other differences, is important in the struggle for these lofty ideals. The participants in an international organization as large and representative as the Organization of the Islamic Conference can do a great deal toward achieving this aim, jointly or along parallel lines.

"The Soviet Union shares with conference participants a profound concern for the preservation of the seats of military tension and regional conflicts, above all the Middle East conflict, which poses a serious threat to international peace and security and affects the interests of many states, among them member-states of your organization. There exists a broad international consensus that it is only on the basis of complete withdrawal of Israeli troops from all occupied Arab territories, including the Arab part of Jerusalem, and ensurance of inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination and the creation of its own state that an all-embracing, equitable and durable settlement can be achieved in the Middle East. Durable peace, a reliably guaranteed right to national sovereignty, safe existence and development must be ensured for peoples of the Middle East.

"It is long since time to put into operation the generally recognized international mechanism of such a settlement -- a peace conference under the auspices of the United Nations. [paragraph continues]

"This is shown precisely by the fact that the proposal to set up a preparatory committee to convene such a conference met with broad approval at the Eighth Nonaligned Summit in Harare and quite recently was endorsed in the decisions of the 41st session of the UN General Assembly.

"The fratricidal war between Iran and Iraq continues causing serious concern. The Soviet Union uses every opportunity in an effort to convince the warring sides to end this tragic conflict and settle it by peaceful political means. It is important to continue international efforts, also through the Organization of the Islamic Conference, toward an early achievement of this aim.

"We are for a fresh, unbiased view, not imposed from the outside, on how to untie the knot of problems around Afghanistan, whether this refers to the lawful interests of the Afghan people or its neighbours. Our country does not intend to keep for long in Afghanistan the troops it sent to that country at the request of its government, and it has already confirmed this by sending home part of its limited contingent. We are prepared to accelerate the return home of the remaining units if a political settlement is achieved. Ensurance of reliably guaranteed noninterference from the outside in internal affairs of that sovereign nonaligned Muslim state has been and remains the key to the settlement of the situation around Afghanistan. This would also promote a successful development of the process of national reconciliation in Afghanistan which meets the innermost aspirations of its people.

"We express the hope that the decisions of the fifth conference of the Organization of the Islamic Conference will become a tangible contribution to the consolidation of international peace and universal security and of equitable political settlement of regional conflict situations.

"We wish you success in your work.

The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium."

ICO Views Gulf War, Security

LD281316 Moscow TASS in English 1254 GMT 28 Jan 87

[Text] Kuwait January 28 TASS -- The fifth summit conference of the Islamic Conference Organisation, ICO, continues here. The main issue is the Iran-Iraq armed conflict which as President of Syria Hafiz al-Asad said at the conference benefitted only Zionism, imperialism and the enemies of Arabs and Muslims.

The escalation of the Iran-Iraq conflict threatens peace in the world, said Sharifuddin Pirzada, ICO secretary-general, who called for stopping the bloodshed and ensuring reconciliation of the sides as soon as possible. He noted the importance of enhancing the role of Islamic countries in the course of strengthening people's security and international cooperation. Pirzada also favoured the convocation of an international conference on the Middle East with all interested sides taking part.

King Husayn of Jordan said that Israel pursued the policy of repressions and was suppressing the Arab people of Palestine. He urged stepped-up support for the struggle of Palestinians for the exercise of their legitimate national rights.

President of Egypt, Husni Mubarak, touched upon the problem of security of Islamic countries. He proposed that they conclude a non-aggression pact.

Afghanistan, Other Issues

LD290536 Moscow International Service in Arabic 1530 GMT 28 Jan 87

["Afghanistan and the Islamic Summit Conference" -- unattributed commentary]

[Excerpts] The Islamic summit conference, convened under uneasy circumstances, is continuing in Kuwait. Blood is flowing on the Iraq-Iran war front, Lebanon, and the occupied Arab territories. Tel Aviv and Washington are putting obstacles in the way of justly resolving the Palestine problem and are usurping the Palestinian people's right to self-determination and the establishment of their independent state. The Jerusalem issue has not been resolved either. The United States and Israel generally are impeding a solution to the Middle East conflict by objecting to the holding of an international conference on the Middle East.

There is another serious issue that draws the attention of Islamic countries, namely the situation around Afghanistan. This issue is on the Islamic summit's agenda. There is no doubt that Islamic countries cannot take a spectator's position regarding events taking place in this country and around it. However, what are the facts about these events? The truth is that an undeclared war has been launched against Afghanistan. Who is responsible for starting this war and escalating it, and where are its moving forces? These forces exist far away, first of all in the United States. From there the interference in Afghanistan's internal affairs began and the undeclared war against the Afghan people was launched. Three years ago the United States through its CIA allocated $280 million for Afghan needs. However, this sum has now reached $630 million. With the money provided, the Americans, ambitious to dominate the world, carried out and expanded the undeclared war on Afghanistan. Tel Aviv also contributed to this. It generally may be said that Washington and Tel Aviv work together in many ways, as they do in the war against the Arabs and in the Iran-Iraq conflict. [passage omitted]

Imperialist propaganda, bent on obstructing the national reconciliation process in Afghanistan, alleges that the presence of the Soviet limited military force in Afghanistan is the obstacle to an Afghan settlement. However, the USSR, as stated in the greeting message sent by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium to the fifth Islamic summit, is not leaving the forces it sent to Afghanistan at the request of its government there for long. This was affirmed previously by the withdrawal of a part of its limited force and its readiness to accelerate the withdrawal of the remainder of its forces if a political settlement is reached. The [word indistinct] of settlement around Afghanistan has been and will remain the securing of firm guarantees that there will be no interference in the internal affairs of this nonaligned, Islamic, and sovereign country. This may help the successful development of the national reconciliation process in Afghanistan.

Washington tries, by offering various pretexts to kindle the fire of war in Afghanistan, to involve some Arab countries in an adventure against Afghanistan, while the Afghan Government is persistently and consistently trying to establish relations of friendship and cooperation with all Arab and Islamic countries, condemns Zionism and imperialism strongly, and works for a comprehensive, just, and firm settlement of the Middle East conflict on the basis of the withdrawal of Israeli forces from all occupied Arab territories and the granting of legitimate rights to the Palestinian Arab people, including their right to establish an independent Palestinian state.

ICO's 'Common Sense and Realism'

LD290442 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 28 Jan 87

[From the "Vremya" newscast; Farid Seyful-Mulyukov video report from Islamic Conference Organization summit in Kuwait]

[Text] In Kuwait the fifth conference of heads of state and government of the Islamic Conference Organization [ICO] member-countries ends its work today.

[Seyful-Mulyukov] Despite the prognostications of those who construct their imperialist policies on discord and internecine strife, the Kuwait conference has mainly been dominated by tendencies of common sense and realism, whether the talk is of ending the tragic war between Iran and Iraq, or the elimination of the long-lasting Near Eastern crisis, or a political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan.

Speeches by a number of representatives of the Arab and Muslim world contained condemnation for the aggressive course of Washington and its allies. President Hafiz al-Asad of Syria called the United States the biggest terrorist state in modern history. U.S. weapons are used to suppress the will to peace and freedom of the peoples of African countries and of Afghanistan, Nicaragua, and southern Africa. [video shows Al-Asad, Jordan's King Husayn, and Ziaul Haq addressing session]

The key issue at the Islamic summit is the problem of the speediest possible elimination of a dangerous hotbed of war in the Persian Gulf basin. Fanning the Iran-Iraq conflict, said many Islamic countries' leaders, plays into the hands of the United States and Israel, who are striving to assert their supremacy in the region.

The Kuwait conference has shown the wish of the participants to proceed to practical steps to end the bloodshed between Iraq and Iran, to restore peace and national accord in Lebanon, and to resolve the Near East conflict as well as the key problem of the region, that of the Palestinians, in a just manner.

The Soviet initiative on setting up a preparatory committee within the framework of the Security Council and to convene a Near East peace conference met with the approval of a number of countries.

An important role was played by bilateral contacts between Arab and Muslim rulers. For the first time in many years, the presidents of two of the biggest Arab states, Egypt and Syria, met in Kuwait. However, in the view of objective ovservers, much remains to be done to unite the Arab world and resist U.S. and Israeli plans.

During the Kuwait forum, there was also discussion of the situation in Afghanistan. Its participation in the Islamic conference was frozen, thanks to those who are waging an undeclared war against the Afghan people. Bandit emissaries were invited to Kuwait as guests, but they found themselves taking a back seat at the Islamic meeting. [video shows delegates in Afghan garb outside conference center] President Hafiz al-Asad and other leaders gave a positive appraisal of the initiative by Moscow and Kabul aimed at a cease-fire in Afghanistan, and at national reconciliation and a political settlement.

However, some Islamic figures undertook attempts to distort the Afghan state of affairs and play up to imperialist circles and their hirelings, the bandits. The participants in the conference of Muslim leaders are now drafting its decisions. It is important that they correspond to the interests of world peace and security and map out constructive paths to a just settlement of regional conflicts.

TASS Summarizes Proceedings

LD292024 Moscow TASS in English 1953 GMT 29 Jan 87

[Text] Kuwait January 29 TASS -- The fifth summit meeting of the Organisation of the Islamic Conference (OIC) has closed in the capital of Kuwait today. It was attended by representatives of 43 countries and of the Palestine Liberation Organisation.

The delegates to the meeting devoted their main attention to the seven-year-old bloody Iran-Iraq war. The final communique adopted by the meeting expresses concern about the escalation of hostilities and stresses the need for the withdrawal of the troops of the sides to the internationally recognised borders, exchange of prisoners of war and a peaceful settlement of the conflict. The communique calls for putting an end to the war by collective efforts.

The leaders of the Islamic states have declared for the convocation of an international conference on the Middle East under the U.N. aegis with the participation of all sides concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organisation. They pointed out the need for a durable and immediate settlement of the Middle East conflict, and a just settlement of the Palestinian issue on the basis of the creation of an independent Palestinian state under the leadership of PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. Peace can be achieved in the Middle East only on condition of full and unconditional withdrawal of the Israeli troops from all the occupied Arab lands, the communique says. It calls for the creation of a preparatory committee to convene an international conference with the participation of all permanent members of the U.N. Security Council.

The communique resolutely condemns the policy of the United States giving Israel unlimited economic, political and millitary support. It also demands that Washington pay a compension for the damage done by the U.S. Air Force raids on the Libyan cities of Tripoli and Banghazi.

The leaders of the Islamic states have rejected any attempts at linking their countries with terrorism and pointed out that the methods of terrorism cannot serve as a means of pursuance of foreign policy by a country.

As a result of the efforts of a number of conservative regimes, chiefs of Afghan counter-revolutionaries were invited to the conference as observers, while truly democratic Afghanistan was not represented at that forum. An openly anti-Afghan ring echoing the malicious campaign of lies and slanders unleashed by the United States and its allies against the DRA could be clearly heard in some speeches. The other speakers gave a sober assessment of the situation around Afghanistan and supported the DRA's leadership's recent peace initiatives.

It is the duty of all those present at the conference, Syria's President Hafiz al-Asad said is to encourage the initiative of the DRA Government to remove obstacles in the way of national reconciliation in Afghanistan.

Haydar 'Abu Bakr al-'Attas, chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme People's Council of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, approved the Afghanistan's leadership's initiative on national reconciliation and expressed the hope that the conference would make its contribution to the peaceful process in the DRA.

Speakers at the conference expressed the idea of a need for making vigorous efforts to ensure the security of the peoples of the whole world and deep concern about the continuing weapons race and attempts at spreading it into outer space. A call rang out for a ban on nuclear weapons, and an end to nuclear testing. In that connection paramount international significance was stressed of the Soviet Union's constructive proposals and initiatives.

Representatives of the Islamic world pointed out that the main cause of the remaining tensions in Lebanon is the Israeli occupation. They demanded that Israeli troops be withdrawn from that country's territory and declared for reaching national accord between the Lebanese at the earliest date. The conference declared the need for a settlement of the Chadian conflict, condemned the racist South African regime and declared for ensuring the legitimate rights of the peoples of Namibia.

The resolutions approved by the conference call for strengthening the solidarity of the Islamic states, developing cooperation in economic and cultural fields.

It has been decided to convene the next IOC conference at the summit level in Senegal in 1990.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA DISCUSSES 'SENSELESS' GULF WAR

PM271251 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 24 Jan 87 First Edition p 5

[Vasiliy Pustov article: "Put an End to the Mutual Destruction"]

[Text] The Iran-Iraq war has been given a number of fitting epithets: "tragic" and "senseless" (the contradictions between the two countries, which are basically anti-imperialist in attitude, could be settled through negotiation), "endless" (it is into its 7th year), and "bloody" (according to the foreign press, the war has taken the lives of 600,000 Iranians and 400,000 Iraqis; a total of more than 3 million have been wounded on both sides. [paragraph continues]

It is also known by other names: the "tanker war" (approximately 300 vessels have been sunk and damaged in the Persian Gulf by the warring sides' aircraft), the "oil war" (the transportation of oil in this region has been paralyzed to a considerable extent), and the "cities war" (densely populated cities, including the capitals of both countries, are increasingly frequently subjected to missile and artillery fire and air bombing attacks).

Local clashes and fighting alternate with offensive operations in the Iran-Iraq war. During the last 4-5 years, Iranian troops have retained the initiative in these operations, but at the price of huge losses. At the end of last year, several divisions of regular troops and many thousand "guards of the Islamic Revolution" launched an offensive in the front's southern sector over an area of 40 km. As a result of the bloody fighting, they succeeded in seizing several islands in Shatt al-'Arab.

In January this year Iranian troops have concentrated the main body of their offensive operations to the east of Basra and their auxiliary operations in the central section of the front. All the operations have been distinguished by the ferocity of the fighting, which sometimes takes the form of hand-to-hand combat and by the intensive use of the Air Force. According to official figures quoted in Baghdad, Iraqi aircraft and helicopters have completed more than 600 operational flights in the course of a few days in January (the average last year was no more than 40).

The information forthcoming from both sides regarding combat operations is highly contradictory. Baghdad refutes reports from the Iranian command that its troops are successfully approaching Basra, Iraq's second largest city. According to the IRAQI NEWS AGENCY, INA, the Iranians have succeeded only in seizing a bridgehead 2-5 km wide and surrounded with water to the east of Basra. Iraqi troops are fully in control of the situation in this part of the front. The truth of Iran's reports of victory also is questioned by many Western military specialists. They note that the degree of progress made to the east of Basra and in other regions has dearly cost the Iranians. Since the beginning of this year, according to the American television company CBS, the Iranians have had more than 50,000 personnel put out of action, and of these, 25,000 actually have been killed -- this when the losses incurred by the Iraqi Army are estimated at 20,000, including 10,000 actually killed.

Foreign observers note that the persistence with which the Iranian command continues to wage its offensive operations is explained by a number of factors. Of considerable signficance, for example, is the fact that the Iranian population is three times larger than the Iraqi population (approximately 45 million and 15 million, respectively). This makes it possible for Iran to have considerably larger armed forces and to more rapidly fill the losses it incurs at the fronts. It also is believed that against the background of the broadly publicized offensive operations, the country's worsening economic situation and material and other deprivations and difficulties caused by the war somehow are being suppressed.

A great deal also is being written abroad on the events connected with the continuing political scandal which has been christened "Irangate" in the United States. The actions of those representatives of the U.S. Administration who organized and, for a long time, carried out secret deliveries of arms, ammunition, and spare parts to Iran have more than only a purely military significance. Their aim was to drag on even longer the conflict which is bleeding both the warring sides white, sowing discord among countries working to eliminate the effects of Israeli aggression and impairing the anti-imperialist struggle waged by the peoples of this region. [paragraph continues]

In this respect, the U.S. military supplies were intended to play a sinister inflammatory role. The danger was graphically expressed recently by THE WASHINGTON POST. These secret operations, it warns, "are like matches in the hands of such big children as Lieutenant Colonel Oliver North and the commander in chief of the U.S. Armed Forces." Of course, the words "matches" and "children" are only metaphors, but they have the effect of making us ponder the possible fatal consequences of the United States' behind-the-scenes influence on the Iran-Iraq conflict.

This is all the more so in view of the fact that the matter was not limited to arms supplies alone. Other information also has appeared in the Western press that exposes the hyprocisy of all the talk about the American "policy of neutrality." What we are talking about is the supply of secret information to both Iran and Iraq to preserve and build up the tension between them. This information, according to the Paris newspaper LE MATIN, is obtained by the Pentagon with the use of American spy satellites following combat operations on the Iran-Iraq front.

Ayatollah R. Khomeini once said: "Even if the United States and Israel cry: 'There is no god but Allah!' we still will not believe them, because we know they wish to deceive us." Iran still has absolutely no reason to trust American imperialism and its assistant in the Near East -- particularly now when their political duplicity and double dealing have come to light in such a disgusting, disgraceful way. When, with the aid of a transatlantic "Trojan horse," attempts have been made to grope around for pro-imperialist forces in Iran, relying on who would have made it possible to try to once again turn this country into a U.S. military and political bridgehead and spies' nest, as was the case under the antinational Shah's regime.

With the situation worsening on the Iran-Iraq front and in the Persian Gulf region as a whole, there is increasing talk in the West of possible U.S. military intervention in this region. According to the West German journal DER SPIEGEL, for example, which cites Egyptian sources, "The Pentagon is preparing to intervene in the Persian Gulf if Iranian troops seize the strategically important Iraqi city of Basra." It is noteworthy that when asked by journalists to comment on this report, A. Brashear, assistant press secretary to the White House, restricted himself to saying that he does not read DER SPIEGEL.

A report recently broadcast by the American television company NBC could not help but cause concern. "Informed sources in the Pentagon report that the United States is determined to protect commerical shipping in the gulf. The aircraft carrier Kitty Hawk is being sent to the Indian Ocean and could reach the region adjacent to the Persian Gulf in 5 days." It is typical that R. Simms, Pentagon spokesman, basically declined to answer journalists' questions as to how he would comment on this report. It transpires that the Pentagon spokesman "has no idea" which course is being taken by the Kitty Hawk or where it is now.

The Iran-Iraq war is only to the advantage of those who nurture neoglobalist plans and would like to pave the way to restoring their neocolonialist positions in the Near and Middle East on the basis of exhausting both countries. The conflict is being used to build up the military presence of the United States and other NATO countries in the Persian Gulf region and to create the conditions for interfering in the internal affairs of the countries in this region.

The Soviet Union is sure that there are no insuperable obstacles in the way of putting an end to the Iran-Iraq mutual destruction and establishing peace if one looks at the situation objectively. Consequently, it invariably has been and continues to be in favor of ending the armed conflict as soon as possible and resolving disputes at the political negotiating table rather than on the battlefield.

PAPER CALLS ON IRAN TO SHOW 'POLITICAL REALISM'

PM270949 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 4, 25 Jan 87 p 5

[Article by "MN Military Analyst" Lev Semeyko: "A Senseless War"]

[Text] The entire course of the Iran-Iraq war, started in September of 1980, has incontrovertibly proved that neither side can win. The alternative to the artillery duels is a dialogue between diplomats.

The military deadlock is the result of the virtual balance of forces. While Iraq's superiority lies in materiel, Iran is superior in personnel and economic resources, and its geography is more advantageous from the point of view of military strategy.

Here are some key facts:

Iraq has nearly 2,600 tanks (against some 1,000 Iranian tanks), nearly 800 warplanes (Iran has less than 100), one and a half times more artillery pieces than Iran, etc. Iraq's materiel is also superior because its enemy mainly uses obsolete weapons bought from the USA during the shah's regime to the tune of $17 billion.

Iran, whose population is 40 million, has an army of nearly one million (250,000 are regular troops, up to 300,000 are members of the Revolutionary Guard Corps, and the rest are volunteers). Nearly a million Iranian volunteers have received basic combat training. Iraq's forces are smaller only because its population is 14 million.

The fighting along the nearly 1,200 km front experiences periods of relative lull and flare-ups of action, stabilized warfare alternates with mobile warfare. Iran's main objective to straddle the highway between Basra and Baghdad and to cut off Iraqi southeast from the rest of the country has not been achieved despite nearly 30 offensives of various magnitudes. The frontline running along the border on the Iraqi territory has long become stabilized.

The war has taken a giant toll of lives. Iran has lost more than half a million and Iraq more than 200,000, with hundreds of thousands of wounded in hospitals. There are heavy losses among the civilians. Resorts are being made to inhumane chemical warfare. Iran employs units of kamikaze-type religious zealots. The bombing raids, missile and artillery strikes are supplemented by oil-tanker air raids. Both sides' economies have catastrophically deteriorated especially as the result of the destruction of their petroleum industries. It was announced in Baghdad, for example, that Iran's key petroleum export seaport on Kharq Island has been destroyed.

The conflict is both senseless and dangerous because it can become larger. A big role in this may be played by the U.S. military presence in the Middle East and by the instigatory policy of Washington which is not interested in a political settlement at all. Its readiness to interfere is nowhere better illustrated than by "Irangate."

The Soviet Union is firmly in favour of a speedy end to the Iran-Iraq conflict. It does so regardless of how the situation, including the military situation, develops in this conflict. A political settlement of issues, in particular the redefinition of the Iran-Iraq borders that existed before the start of the conflict, is an imperative of common sense. The Soviet Government's statement of January 9, 1987, says that the USSR is ready to support in every way all honest and constructive efforts at shifting the Iran-Iraq conflict towards a peaceful settlement. Baghdad immediately supported the Soviet call for stopping the conflict. It is vital that Tehran also show political realism.

AL-NAHAR CITED ON U.S. FUNDING OF DUSHMAN ARMS

PM281259 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Jan 87 First Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Weapons to the Dushmans"]

[Text] Tunis, 22 Jan -- The newspaper AL-NAHAR, citing information obtained from U.S. sources, reports that Israel obtained part of the $5 billion sum that the United States transferred to the CIA account in a Swiss bank. These funds, the report states, were intended to finance military shipments to the Afghan counterrevolution. They were also used by Israel to buy and ship to the dushmans the latest Israeli- and U.S.-made weapons in order to test them "under combat conditions."

LIBYA SIGNS SCIENTIFIC COOPERATION AGREEMENT

PM271147 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Jan 87 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Soviet-Libyan Cooperation"]

[Text] Tripoli, 26 Jan -- An agreement on scientific cooperation between the USSR Academy of Sciences and the Libyan Bureau of Scientific Research has been signed in the Libyan capital during a visit by a delegation of Soviet scientists. The document provides for joint scientific research work and the organization of symposiums and seminars.

The agreement reflects the successful development of Soviet-Libyan relations in various spheres, Milud Mu'azzabi, general director of the Bureau of Scientific Research, stated at the signing ceremony.

IZVESTIYA VIEWS EGYPTIAN SCIENCE, CULTURAL ACCORD

PM271157 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Jan 87 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent D. Velikhiy report: "In the Interests of Mutual Understanding"]

[Text] Cairo -- A plan for cultural and scientific cooperation between the USSR and Egypt for 1987-1988 has been signed here.

In conversation with your correspondent, Ambassador Hasan Amin Shashi, director of the Egyptian Foreign Ministry's department of cultural ties and technical cooperation, expressed satisfaction at the positive development of the whole range of relations envisaged by the cultural agreement between the two countries.

Active contacts are envisaged in the sphere of science, higher and secondary specialized education, art, and health. There will be an exchange of delegations from the creative unions and of artistic collectives, and the sides propose participation in exhibitions and book fairs.

VORONTSOV RECEIVES EGYPTIAN AMBASSADOR

LD292131 Moscow TASS in English 1438 GMT 29 Jan 87

[Text] Moscow January 29 TASS -- Yuliy Vorontsov, a first deputy minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, today received Egypt's ambassador to the USSR, Salah Baysuni, at his request.

In the course of their conversation, which passed in a businesslike atmosphere, the sides touched upon questions of bilateral relations and some international problems of mutual interest.

Yuliy Vorontsov reiterated the Soviet Union's principled stand for the achievement of a comprehensive Mideastern settlement through collective efforts within the framework of an international conference on the Middle East. In this context note was made of the Soviet proposal for establishing a preparatory committee with the participation of the permanent members of the U.S. Security Council, a proposal which enjoyed international recognition and which had been approved by the latest session of the U.N. General Assembly.

MOSCOW HOSTS COOPERATION TALKS WITH ALGERIA

LD280031 Algiers Domestic Service in Arabic 2300 GMT 27 Jan 87

[Text] Yesterday the Moscow the Algerian-Soviet talks on cooperation and exchanges in the scientific and cultural fields began.

The Algerian delegation to these talks is headed by Brother Abdelkarim Ben Larbi, deputy head of the department of Socialist Europe and the Soviet Union at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

It is expected that at the end of these talks they will sign an agreement protocol for scientific and cultural cooperation and exchanges for 2 years.

It is noteworthy that the Algerian delegation includes representatives from the Ministeries of Information, Culture, Tourism, and Higher Education.

PRAVDA CARRIES 'TEXT' OF CPSU CC PLENUM RESOLUTION

PM291215 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Jan 87 Second Edition p 1-2

["CPSU Central Committee Plenum Resolution on Restructuring and the Party's Cadre Policy"]

[Text] Moscow January 28 TASS -- Follows the full text of the resolution "on Reorganization and the Party's Personnel Policy" adopted by the plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee:

Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union Resolution On Reorganization and the Party's Personnel Policy

Having heard and discussed the report by the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Comrade M.S. Gorbachev "On Reorganization and the Party's Personnel Policy" the plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union fully approves the political and practical conclusions made by the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee on the basis of an analysis of the situation in Soviet society in the period preceding the April (1985) plenary meeting of the Central Committee, a principled assessment of the course of restructuring and of the first results achieved in fulfilling the decisions of the 27th party congress, as well as the tasks of the CPSU's present-day personnel policy as formulated by the Central Committee's Politburo and to be solved by all party, state and public organizations.

I

The Central Committee of the CPSU notes that developments since the April (1985) plenary meeting of the Central Committee and the 27th Congress of the CPSU have confirmed the correctness and vital necessity of the strategic course of accelerating socio-economic development and qualitatively transforming all aspects of our society's life. That course was formulated by the party and is supported by the Soviet people.

The achievements of Soviet people in socialist construction in the nearly 70 years that have passed since the victory of the Great October Revolution are enormous and unquestionable. But these successes must not eclipse the fact that in the late 70s and early 80s the rates of progress in the country started to drop. Difficulties and outstanding problems started accumulating in the economy, social and cultural areas, while elements of stagnation and other phenomena alien to socialism emerged. For all the enormous work of the party and its cadres, the CPSU Central Committee and the country's leadership have failed to evaluate in time and in full the danger of mounting negative tendencies and work out a clear-cut course in order to overcome them. The slackening of attention to the development of theoretical thought and the study of dialectics of the motive forces and contradictions of developing socialism had a negative influence on the solution of urgent social and economic problems. There were serious drawbacks in the functioning of institutions of socialist democracy, the practice of planning, and the style and methods of management. Many party organizations failed to work from positions of principle, did not pay the necessary attention to the strict observance of Lenin's principles and the norms of party life and did not wage a resolute struggle against negative phenomena, the slackening of discipline, the spread of alcoholism, theft and bribery. Departmentalism, parochialism and cases of nationalism were not always rebuffed in a worthy manner.

The plenary meeting notes the exceptional importance of the fact that under these circumstances the party has mustered the strength and courage to steer the course towards reconstruction and lead the way, and to organize work that is revolutionary in nature, with the aim of decisively doing away with stagnant phenomena and setting up a reliable and workable mechanism of speeding up the social and economic development of the country. There is no other way than reconstruction, we must not retreat and there is nowhere we can retreat.

The ultimate goal of reorganization is to renovate every aspect of the life of our society, to impart the most advanced forms of social organization to socialism and to realize to the fullest possible extent the creative potential of the socialist system. As it delves into deep-lying strata of life and unfolds along the entire front, reorganization exerts an ever growing influence on the situation in the country and acquires qualitatively new features.

The overall political result is that noticeable changes are taking place in the life of Soviet society, that positive tendencies are gaining momentum and that a new moral atmosphere is taking shape. Openness, truthfulness, intolerance of shortcomings and a desire to improve matters are being asserted to an ever greater extent as vigorously operating principles. The national economy exceeded basic plan targets in the first year of the five-year plan period and a solid foundation has been effectively laid for further progress.

However, the measures that are being taken and the work that is being done do not correspond everywhere to the scale and acuteness of the existing problems, nor are they always sufficiently energetic and efficient. Change is running up against considerable difficulties in a number of major areas, primarily in the field of efficiency and quality, the development of science and technology and the social area. The mechanism of braking socio-economic development, which has taken shape over the years, is crumbling and surrendering its positions too slowly, and conservatism, inertia and outdated modes of thinking have not yet lost their strength and influence.

The plenum considers further intensifying reorganization and stepping up efforts in every area of this process to be the most important task of the Politburo and Secretariat of the CPSU Central Committee, the central committees of the communist parties of the Union republics, the territory, regional, area, city and district party committees and party, government and public organizations. It is essential today, at the initial stage, to stand for realism and objective evaluation of what has been done, consider what has been achieved not only in comparison with the past and, most importantly, to rely on the plans drafted and approved by the party. It is essential that every Communist, every citizen brace himself or herself for long, strenuous and dedicated work. This is the only correct party approach. Effective, conscientious work by all without exeption is the guarantee of success in reorganization. It is necessary to pursue the plotted course perseveringly, step by step and without hesitation, not allowing any gap between decisions and their practical fulfilment, and guaranteeing the irreversibility of transformations.

The success of reorganization will depend to a decisive extent on how quickly and profoundly our cadres develop an understanding of the need for revolutionary changes and how resolutely, energetically and efficiently they work. The party's personnel policy -- vigorous, purposeful, based on the Leninist principles and meeting the tasks of reorganization -- is called upon to promote these goals. It is obliged to reflect in full measure the features of the current situation, the character and tasks of the moment, and ensure high efficiency of every element of the party and the state, of our entire social organism.

Personnel Policy is a decisive means of fulfilling the program goals of the CPSU, a dependable tool enabling the party to exercise political leadership of society and to formulate and effectively pursue a strategic line that meets the interests of the people and is up to the task of strengthening and developing socialism.

II

1. The plenum stresses that revealing and tapping the tremendous resources of socialism as a new social system to an ever greater degree, updating its economic foundations, extending socialist democracy all-round and furthering popular self-government are conditions for accelerating the country's social and economic development. Only on this basis can the creative initiative of the working masses and their effective involvement in running all aspects of public life assume a truly broad scale and the human factor make its fullest impact.

Approving the practical steps taken along these lines in accordance with the decisions of the 27th party congress, the plenum considers it essential to take maximum advantage of the opportunities for broadening socialist democracy and advancing the Soviet political system, fill the activities of party and state agencies and mass organizations with real, democratic content, and ensure conditions for working people to increase substantially the influence on the selection of personnel and exercise control over their own work. We must strive to ensure that the primary party organizations fully perform their statutory duty to take an active part in executing personnel policy.

2. The plenum attaches supreme significance to promoting democracy in production, consistently introducing self-government into the activities of work collectives, and creating conditions for every worker to feel that he is really in charge of his factory. Establishing work collectives councils at factories and amalgamations and giving both these councils and the general staff meetings the final say in a wide range of production, social and personnel issues should be aimed at achieving these goals.

It is essential to introduce a system for electing the managers of factories, production units, shops, departments, sections, farms, workers' teams, shift foremen and job foremen and to broaden the practice of choosing and appointing executives and specialists through competition, and define the conditions for employing such a method.

In the new conditions it is very important to correctly realize that the election of the heads of work collectives, far from undermining the principle of one-man management, only further enhances it and raises the prestige of the executives, while also increasing their accountability for the entrusted job and fostering an atmosphere of mutual exactingness and demandingness in every collective. An organic combination of one-man leadership and collective participation in decision-making on the more important matters develops and amplifies the principles of democratic centralism and plan-based management relying on the collective.

The plenum considers it expedient to approve the draft law of the USSR on the State Enterprise (Amalgamation) intending to put it up later for nationwide discussion.

3. The broad possibilities, enjoyed by the collective farms and the socialist cooperative movement in general, of encouraging the initiative and independent activities of working people and democratizing the management of the economy and the social area should be used more fully. [paragraph continues]

It is important to ensure strict compliance with the statutes of the collective farms and other cooperative organisations and amend them so as to make for still greater activity on the part of the cooperatives' members, increase their interest in collective work and its real results for each member.

It shall be recommended that the Council of Ministers of the USSR and appropriate bodies in the republics and localities take measures for wide dissemination of cooperative forms of the organisation of public catering, everyday services and some other sectors which are directly connected with meeting the requirements and interests of Soviet people.

4. Refining the Soviet electoral system is one of the key avenues of the democratisation of social life and of the personnel policy. It is important that we eliminate elements of formalism from the practice of nomination and discussion of candidates to run for the Soviets, and enable the voter to express his attitude towards a larger number of candidacies, and to participate effectively in the electoral process at all its stages.

5. The plenum supports the principled way in which the political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee has put the question of the need to broaden inner-party democracy, to look for effective ways to revitalise the work of the primary party organisations, conferences and plenary sessions, and to improve the mechanism of the formation of elective party bodies at all levels, in the sense of further democratizing it.

6. The plenum attaches much importance to enhancing control over the activities of cadres "from above" and particularly "from below", to consistently realizing Lenin's precept that the work of the leading bodies should be open to everyone and should be carried out in full sight of the masses. With this end in view, regular reports by elected and appointed officials to the work collectives and to the population should be ensured, with people given the right to evaluate the activities of executives, right up to raising the question of removing officials who have been unable to cope with their duties or who have compromised themselves. It is essential to establish an efficient system of control over the work of leading cadres, using for the purpose the party, trade-union and Komsomol conferences, sessions of the soviets of people's deputies, plenums of party, trade-union and Komsomol committees, the activities of the standing commissions of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the supreme soviets of the union and autonomous republics, local soviets of people's deputies, and by making ever greater use of the methods of inquiries by deputies.

It is essential to recognise it as expedient for the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the CPSU and the Presidium of the Council of Ministers of the USSR to adopt measures to introduce order in the existing practice of checks and inspections at enterprises and organisations. The aim is to ensure that such checks are useful and not just a tribute to formalism, diverting large numbers of people from their work.

Party organizations should constantly keep within their field of vision the certification of leading cadres, specialists, officials in state organs and public organizations and regard it as an effective form of collective control over the work of cadres and of incentive to upgrade their professional qualifications.

7. The plenum obliges all party committees and party organizations to take additional measures to increase openness, promote criticism and self-criticism, especially criticism from below, to make full use of this tested lever with the aim of instilling in personnel uncompromisingness towards shortcomings, healthy dissatisfaction with what has been achieved, and a desire to uproot all sorts of disgressions from the norms of socialist morality. We must always proceed from the premise that the attitude to criticism is an important indicator of the political maturity of cadres, their readiness for change and ability to actually carry out the reorganization. The party is no place for persons beyond the reach of criticism or for persons who do not have the right to criticize. Stifling of criticism or attempts to slander honest, devoted workers, to settle personal scores by resorting to anonymous letters and other unworthy methods should be resolutely cut short.

8. Taking into account that true democracy does not exist outside the law or above the law, the plenum attaches much importance to drafting and adopting new legislative acts, to enhancing the role of the Soviet court, to strictly observing the principle of the independence of judges, to radically intensifying supervision by the procurator's office, to improving the work of the investigative bodies, to all ways and means of protecting the interests of the Soviet state and safeguarding the rights and freedoms of citizens. The party proceeds from the premise that socialist democracy has nothing in common with the anything-goes mentality, with irresponsibility and anarchy. It is called upon to genuinely serve man, the collective and society, the development of working people's initiative, the revealing of the socialist system's creative potential, the strengthening of law and order, justice, and a healthy moral atmosphere in our society. The legal education of the leading cadres and the entire population should be intensified.

9. The plenum believes it is necessary to see to the consistent expansion of the social base of Soviet democracy, to the more active participation of every citizen, veterans and youth, representatives of all sections of the population in restructuring, in state and public life.

It is necessary to ensure that young, promising workers are promoted in a bolder fashion and that they work in all sectors shoulder to shoulder with the tested personnel of older generations, thus gaining experience and tempering. Party organizations are obliged to skillfully direct this natural process, consider it as an indispensable condition for guaranteeing the continuity of the leadership, of our policy course and overcoming sluggishness and stagnation. It is important that trust in young people, the development of their independence in organizing work, study, everyday activities and recreation be combined with assistance, with comradely criticism of mistakes. Efforts to prepare a dependable reserve of personnel for promotion must be dramatically intensified.

More deserving workers and farmers should be recommended for senior positions in party, local government, trade union and Komsomol bodies. Their training at higher and specialized secondary educational establishments should be encouraged in all ways, would-be leaders should be carefully selected from among them and further groomed. Good organizers from among non-party comrades must be promoted to responsible posts. The plenum regards as essential the promotion of women to senior posts at all levels of management and in all spheres of the life of society.

10. The plenum of the Central Committee draws attention to the need to comply strictly and consistently in cadre work with the demands of the Leninist nationalities policy and to comprehensively take account of the processes of the growing involvement of all Soviet nationalities in the economic and social life of the country. [paragraph continues]

Special care and caution, party principledness and concern for strengthening friendship and fraternity among the peoples of our country should be displayed in everything concerned with the development of relations among nationalities. Negative phenomena in that area should be resolutely stamped out, and any manifestation of nationalism, chauvinism, zionism, anti-semitism, parochialism, parasitic sentiments, nationalistic limitations and arrogance must be uncompromisingly rebuffed and countered with consistent and unflagging internationalism.

Adequate representation of all the nations, big and small, within the country in party, government and economic management bodies and public organisations must be achieved and efforts must be made to ensure that the composition of senior executive personnel reflects to a fuller extent the ethnic structure of the population. It is necessary to intensify exchanges of cadres between republics and regions and between local and central bodies so as to step up the internationalist education of cadres and to enrich them with experience of party and government work.

III

1. The plenum approves the measures taken by the Politburo and secretariat of the CPSU Central Committee to deal with the consequences of the violations of party principles and distortions in personnel policy in the past. The infusion of new blood into the leadership and the replacement of leaders who have proved no match for new tasks or compromised themselves by improper conduct have become an essential component of and the most important factor for reorganization.

In view of the resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress, it is essential to deeply renovate personnel policy, make it truly up-to-date and inseparably link it with the key areas of struggle for socio-economic acceleration. Persistent efforts must be made to ensure that party, government, ecnonomic management and public work in every area is led by persons who are dedicated to the party and the people, who are true innovators, profoundly aware of the need for qualitative change in our society and capable of breaking down inertia and routine and creatively pursuing the party's line.

On the basis of the all-round analysis of the lessons of the past, the CPSU Central Committee regards it as fundamentally important:

In keeping with the Leninist understanding of personnel policy to find a timely solution to outstanding personnel questions at all levels, starting from the CPSU Central Committee and the government, to ensure the constant replenishment of the leading cadres so that the process of renewal is not breached and continuity not disrupted;

To enhance Marxist-Leninist theoretical training, ideological and moral tempering of the cadres, to inculcate in them lofty political and ethical culture, profound understanding of the essence of the party's course towards acceleration and the ability to link programme objectives in each sector closely with everyday organizational, economic and educatonal work, to deal persistently with manifestations of a technocratic approach in the activity of party committees, in personnel selection.

To ensure a considerate, thoughtful, principled attitude to the cadres in their selection and replacement, always being guided exclusively by business interests. [paragraph continues]

Stagnation and unjustified, hasty replacement of workers, administration by decree, subjectivism, intolerance towards independent thinking and initiative are inadmissible in this work;

To constantly increase cadres' responsibility for the task given, to create an atmosphere of mutual exactingness, firm discipline and organization everywhere, to resolutely curb manifestations of laxity. Genuine care for the cadres has nothing in common with complacency and condonation, charity and flirtation;

To strictly observe and develop the principle of democratic centralism in personnel policy, to create the necessary political and legal conditions so that elected bodies in the party and the state, trade unions, Komsomol and other public organizations could fully use the rights given to them and exercise effective control over executive bodies and the operation of the apparatus;

To ensure in the elected bodies an atomsphere of genuine collectivity, equality, free and principled discussion of issues. No matter what the position of leaders might be, it does not raise them above other members of the elected body, but highlights the fact that they bear greater responsibility for the strictest possible observance of party norms and principles;

To carry out practical measures to improve dramatically the activity of party, state and public control, enhance their effect on the strengthening of discipline, on the eradication of violations and abuses in all their forms, and make the apparatus function more efficiently.

2. The plenum of the Central Committee emphasizes that the attitude towards reorganization and toward the work involved in speeding up the country's socio-economic development and real action to accomplish them are the decisive criterion of the evaluation of the cadres and their political and civic position. The party will prmote and support those of its functionaries who not only believe in the course towards reorganization but also actively and creatively join in the process of renewal, devoting all their energies to the common cause and getting results. He who cannot change the state of affairs in the assigned sector for the better, who remains indifferent to current changes or clings to the old ways has no right to fill an executive position.

3. The reorganization process is inseparably connected with the consolidation of the ethical principles of socialist society and of the Soviet way of life. Deep ideological conviction, the highest possible political and moral responsibility for the country's future, and unsweerving adherance to the Leninist ethics of Bolshevism -- these are the exigent demands which are made on all our cadres in the present-day situation. They should set an example of ideological staunchness, undeviating observance of party and state discipline, fidelity to their word, honor, honesty, decency, integrity, modesty and intolerance towards any deviations from the norms of socialist morality.

It is necessary to steadily get rid of time-servers, careerists, trimmers, and of all those who sully the title of party member and of Soviet executive by money-grubbing, preoccupation with acquisition, drunkenness and immorality. protectionism, nepotism, and the nomination of officials on the basis of clanishness or personal loyalty must be combatted resolutely. Those who try to shelter rogues, embezzlers, or extortionists should be called strictly to account under party rules and Soviet law. Those who deliberately disregard our principles should be made known to the public and exposed to public censure. Concern for the unblemished and honest image of the executive is the paramount duty of every party organization.

The plenum makes it binding on the party committees and primary party organizations to resist resolutely any attempts, whoever they come from, at exculpating from responsibility those leaders who have ruined a job or stained their reputation. The still existing practice where the misdeeds of executives are examined within a narrow group and where the true reasons for relieving any given executive of his duties are passed over in silence should be done away with everywhere. The provisions of the CPSU Rules which read that for any misdeed the communist is accountable above all to his primary party organization should be undeviatingly observed. Within the party and the state the law and discipline are the same for each and every one.

4. To deepen reorganization means first and foremost to reorganise the work of the party itself and its cadres at every level, from the Central Committee down to the primary party organisations, and to consistently pursue at every level the Leninist principles and norms of party life. It is in this that the Central Committee sees the essence and main aim of today's personnel policy.

It should be a basic principle that the guiding and coordinating role of the party and its committees should manifest itself today in helping cadres in every field understand the tasks of the moment, and in holding them strictly accountable for the business they have been entrusted with administrative functions that are uncharacteristic of party bodies, and the desire to resolve questions within the competence of others and to supplement government bodies and economic management and public organizations must be resolutely renounced. Special attention must be attached to the reorganisation of the work of the district and city party committees, which directly provide the party's liaison with its grass-root elements and work collectives.

Efforts must continue to ensure that every party committee as an organ of political leadership is a true generator and conductor of new ideas and an organizer of the interaction of all forces, and is capable of deploying them correctly and of foreseeing and taking into account the consequences of the decisions made. Care for man, his living and working conditions, rest and leisure opportunities, and the molding of human consciousness must be in the focus of attention of the party committees. Emphasis must be shifted in the practical style of party leadership onto real day-to-day work among the masses of the people, the organization of the practical fulfillment of decisions and plans, support for public initiative and encouragement of innovative quest.

The main component of reorganization and speedup drive is the primary party organizations, in which the policy of the party is being pursued by millions of Communists and dovetailed with the day-to-day life, work and concerns of the working people. The organisational, ideological and political strengthening of the primary party organisations and the enhancing of their combativeness and activeness are the most important tasks of the district, city, area, regional and territory party committees and the central committees of the communist parties of the union republics.

It is necessary to foster in party workers a political, statesmanlike approach to business, the ability to work under conditions of expanding democracy and people's growing public and production activity, and to convince and lead them. Intolerance of manifestations of conservatism, red tape, parochialism and departmentalism must also be instilled in them. The plenum approves the measures outlined by the Politburo for the comprehensive reorganization of the system of party and political education, for bringing it as close as possible to reality, to present-day tasks, and obliges party committees to increase constructive assistance to party organizations and propaganda media and to improve the organization of the training and briefing of the grassroot party activists working among the people.

5. In view of the great responsibility placed on the cadres in the economy for carrying out the party's strategic course towards speeding up socio-economic development, the plenum draws attention to the need to promote and educate truly competent and innovative managers of enterprises and amalgamations, those capable of working with the people and of achieving under new economic conditions the advance to the forefront of scientific and technological progress, drastic improvements in the quality of output and high efficiency of production. They must be given assistance so that they could speedily master the economic methods of management based on full cost-accounting and self-financing, on broad independence and greater responsibility for the performance of amalgamations and enterprises, and on a new approach to foreign-economic activity. The introduction of state acceptance systems is a matter of great importance.

The CPSU Central Committee attaches fundamental significance to actively involving the working class, collective farmers and intellectuals, all working people in the job of reorganizing, in the drive for a speed-up and for strengthening discipline and moral integrity in all areas of our society. It should be realized that the process of reorganization requires every worker in every field to demonstrate higher responsibility for the assigned task, to upgrade hs professional skills and standards all the time, to master the latest machinery and technology, and to be enterprising and resourceful.

6. The plenum considers it a highly important task to raise substantially the quality and creative contributions of the intellectual, cadre potential in the national economy, improve the training and use of specialists, readjust the higher and secondary specialized education systems, consistently implement the reform of the general educational and vocational school and create in the country a unified system for continuous education. Special attention should be paid to keeping priority sectors of the national economy and newly-completed production units supplied with personnel first, as well as to training specialists and workers to build and operate new equipment.

7. Proceeding from the premise that faster progress in the field of equipment and technology calls for increased replenishment of fundamental scientific ideas and applied developments for sharply switching science to meet the needs of the national economy, the plenum considers it very important for the scientists working at academic institutions, and sectoral and higher schools to increase their contribution to the work of comprehensively intensifying production, making the economy more cost-effective and combining science more closely with production. More attention should be paid to the activities of science-production and inter-sectoral science-and-engineering complexes. Urgent measures should be taken to improve the training of reserach personnel, encourage more young, talented people to become scientific workers, create conditions for fruitful work by scientists, improve their provision with technical facilities, and strengthen the experimental base.

8. In view of the present-day demands, it is necessary to speed up the reorganization of the structure, style, forms and methods in the work of planning, financial and other economic bodies, all ministries and agencies, to define more clearly their functions and tasks, to help do away with petty tutelage, interference in the everyday functioning of amalgamations and enterprises, to concentrate on major, long-term questions of developing national economic branches, accelerating scientific and technological progress, perfecting the economic mechanism and retraining and upgrading personnel.

9. The plenum attaches fundamental importance to laying more emphasis on social orientation in the activity of leading cadres, inculcation in them of the view that social problems constitute a most important political understaking. [paragraph continues]

The ability to correctly resolve social issues, create favourable conditions for highly productive work, for people's life and leisure, and ensure in collectives an atmosphere of creative endeavor is an indispensable criterion of any leader's political and business maturity.

To give close attention to the activity of cadres in all fields directly connected with meeting people's everyday requirements and resolving problems affecting the vital interests of citizens. What is especially important here is good organization of work. Rudeness, callousness, lack of consideration for people cannot be tolerated.

10. In its restructuring work the party relies on government, trade union and Komsomol cadres. The plenum approves of the measures adopted by the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Council of Ministers of the USSR directed at further raising the role and increasing the responsibility of the soviets of people's deputies for accelerating social and economic development, and attaches much importance to the enhancement of democratic principles in the activity of the soviets and their executive organs with a view to fuller and more effective utilization on their part of the powers granted them. It is necessary to enhance the work of party groups in the soviets and increase their influence on the latter's activity.

In present-day conditions trade union cadres should take a more vigorous stand in resolving concrete production and social issues, in developing competition, strengthening labor and production discipline, and educating. The Communists engaged in trade union ensure that the people chosen for trade union work are authoritative and experienced people, capable of organizing specific jobs and standing up for the interests of the working man and the collective.

The party organisations must exercise in practice and on a day-to-day basis guidance of Komsomol organisations, avoid mentorship and administration by decree, encourage the Komsomol's initiative in every way, help in the organisation of educational activities among young people at a high level, promptly respond to their requirements and act as initiators of constructive doings in work, education and recreation.

11. The plenum supports the measures taken by the Politburo of the Central Committee to raise the prestige of the personnel of the courts, procurator's offices, judiciary, militia, state arbitration, notary's offices, and thousands of volunteer law enforcers, and to improve their efficiency. The party's support, however, makes it incumbent on the personnel of the law enforcement bodies to make even more persevering efforts to deeply reorganise their activities in protecting the interests of socialist society and the state and the lawful rights of Soviet citizens. It is necessary to radically improve work with law enforcement personnel, to teach them to work under conditions of growing democracy and openness, bearing in mind that those who enforce the law should themselves be absolutely clean before the law, the party and the people.

12. The plenum attaches major importance to the reorganisation of the work of foreign-policy bodies, to reinforcing them with staff capable of creatively and consistently pursuing the party's line in international politics.

13. Today's complex international situation, the striving of the hawklike imperialist forces of the U.S. to break the military-strategic parity and to achieve nuclear superiority demand speedy build-up of the economic potential, comprehensive strengthening of the defences of our country and maintenance of its defence capability at the proper level, high training standards and combat readiness of the armed forces and constant vigilance. [paragraph continues]

The CPSU Central Committee highly values the efforts of the military personnel, servicemen of the Soviet Army and Navy, who are reliably protecting the peaceful work of the people and the security of the homeland and honorably discharging their internationalist duty. It is necessary to continue enhancing the responsibility of commanding and political officers, the entire officer corps, and the party organisations of the Army and the Navy for maintaining military discipline at a high level, for the ideological and moral education of the personnel, their combat and political training. Ensuring good living conditions for the servicemen and their families must be a constant concern.

14. Responsible tasks are set before ideological workers, who are called upon to carry the ideas and policy of the party into the midst of the people, to equip them with an understanding of the historical necessity of reorganisation and to help everyone find his or her place in the people's drive for acceleration. Cadres in senior positions, party activists, all Communists should carry out educational work on a day-to-day basis. Ideological work should be entrusted to people with theoretical and professional training, with a keen sense of the pulsebeat of our times, and with a capacity for working creatively and seeking a firm linkage of ideological and educational work with practical reorganization.

The plenum points out that the accomplishment of the tasks facing our society and the assertion of openness and of a healthy and critical atmosphere are being actively promoted by the press, television and radio. Intolerance of negative phenomena, the dissemination of experience acquired in the reorganisation process and the elevation of conscientious and highly productive work are the paramount inter-connected tasks of the mass media. The general demands, which the party makes on the cadres: ideological firmness, professionalism, sense of duty, adherence to principle, high responsibility for the veracity and accuracy of the instances being brought up for public verdict and party attitude towards criticism, fully apply to newsmen, television and radio broadcasters.

15. The new stage of social transformations puts responsible tasks before intellectuals in the artistic field and before all workers in the sphere of culture. Their duty is to enrich the cultural and intellectual life of society, to promote the ideological and ethical development of the working person, to create talented, true-to-life of works reflecting our actuality in all its diversity and grandeur, and to resist firmly the ideological and cultural aggression of imperialism, which seeks to impose false and inhumane values upon our people and, above all, upon the young.

The central committees of the communist parties of the union republics, territorial and regional committees of the party, appropriate state bodies, the boards and party organizations of artists' unions and cultural institutions are called upon to give competent assistance in the creative process, respecting talent and at the same time showing party-style adherence to principle. They are to promote the refining of the forms of democratism and social initiative in cultural development, to further criticism and self-criticism in creative collectives. Special attention must be given to enhancing the role of literary criticism, ideological tempering and education of young artists, and to developing their aptitudes and talents. [paragraph continues]

Incompetent interference in purely creative processes, individual sympathies and antipathies, or replacement of methods of ideological influence with high-handed decisions are inadmissible in the guidance of creative activity.

16. The plenum charges the Politburo of the Central Committee to carry out, with due account for proposals advanced by Central Committee members, specific measures to perfect the organization of personnel work in the apparatus of the CPSU Central Committee and local party bodies, deepening the theoretical and methodological elaboration of aspects of present-day personnel policy. The work of personnel departments at ministries, agencies, enterprises, offices and organizations should be markedly improved.

The CPSU Central Committee recommends that party committees, local government bodies, ministries and agencies, the All-Union Central Trade Union Council, the Central Committee of the Komsomol, managing bodies of other public organizations implement practical measures to improve work with cadres in the light of the directives of the 27th party congress and this resolution.

The Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee expresses utmost confidence that changes in the economic, social and cultural spheres of Soviet society will escalate and deepen. This is guaranteed by the heartfelt support on the part of the Communists, all Soviet people for the party's Leninist domestic and foreign policy, for the current reorganization, by the broadening patriotic drive to achieve the plan targets for the 12th 5-Year Plan and greet the 70th anniversary of the Great October (1917) Revolution with honor.

It is necessary not only to consolidate what was achieved in the 1st year of the 5-year plan period, but to advance further, to make fuller use of long-term economic growth factors in work and achieve tangible positive changes all across the board. Mobilizing the broadest sections of the working people and channelling their initiative and energy into tapping the inexhaustible resources of socialism and pursuing the course of renewal and acceleration today constitute the political mission of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

PRAVDA NOTES CPSU APPOINTMENTS, DISMISSALS

PM291147 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Jan 87 Second Edition p 1

["Information Report on the CPSU Central Committee Plenum"]

[Text] As we have already reported, the plenum of the Central Committee of the CPSU continued its work in Moscow today. We have just received a report on this:

On 28 January 1987, at the plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, discussion continued of the report given by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, "on restructuring and the party's cadres policy." [paragraph continues]

Those who spoke in the debate were comrades Gromyko, chairman of the presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet: Kostin, leader of an integrated team at the Ziminka mine of the Prokopyevsk coal mining production association, Kemerovo Oblast; Kolbin, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Kazakhstan Communist Party; Manyakin, first secretary of the Omsk Oblast Committee of the CPSU, Yagodin, USSR minister of higher and secondary specialized education; Popov, first secretary of the Altay Kray Committee of the CPSU; Solomentsev, chairman of the Party Control Committee of the CPSU Central Committee; Tikhomirov, a turner at the Moscow Vladimir Ilyich Electromechanical works; Ponomarev, first secretary of the Belgorod Oblast Committee of the CPSU; Velichko, minister of power machine building of the USSR; Patiashvili, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Georgian Communist Party; Ulyanov, chairman of the board of the Union of Theatrical Figures of the RSFSR; Motornyy, chairman of the Kirov collective farm, Belozerka Rayon, Kherson Oblast, Ukrainian SSR; Sokolov, USSR minister of defense; Kvitsinskiy, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the USSR in the FRG; Morgun, first secretary of the Poltava Oblast Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party; Grishkyavicius, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party; Mesyats, first secretary of the Moscow Oblast Committee of the CPSU; Usmankhodzhayev, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan; Dolgikh, secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU; Masaliyev, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kirgizia; Sitnikov, first secretary of the Irkutsk Oblast Committee of the CPSU.

The concluding speech was delivered by Comrade Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

The plenum adopted a detailed decision on the question that had been discussed. It is being published in the press.

The plenum considered it appropriate to approve, as a basis, a draft law of the USSR on state enterprises (associations) with the intention of later putting it forward for discussion by all the people.

The plenum of the CPSU Central Committee discussed organizational questions.

The plenum elected Comrade Slyunkov, candidate member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, to be secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

The plenum elected Comrade Yakovlev, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to be candidate member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee.

The plenum elected Comrade Lukyanov to be secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

The decision was taken to release Comrade Kunayev from the duties of member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo in connection with his retirement on a pension.

The plenum released Comrade Zimyanin from the duties of secretary of the CPSU Central Committee in connection with his retirement on a pension because of his state of health.

With this, the plenum of the CPSU Central Committee ended its work.

PRAVDA ON GORBACHEV'S CLOSING REMARKS TO PLENUM

PM301102 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Jan 87 First Edition p 1

["Concluding speech by M.S. Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, at the CPSU Central Committee Plenum on 28 January 1987"]

Comrades,

Our plenum is concluding its work and its deliberations of the main item on the agenda. The atmosphere in which it has conducted its work and the discussions that have taken place point to the unity of views that has been demonstrated here on all issues the plenum of the party's Central Committee was to consider and decide. This has not been a formal unity but a unity based on the awareness of the Central Committee's responsibility for successfully carrying out the strategic policy charted by the April plenum and the 27th Congress of the CPSU.

Now that we have wound up the discussions and are to make a decision, it is appropriate to ask: Has our plenum met the expectations of the communists and of all Soviet people? How is this question to be answered? By even the highest standards, this plenum has been a major political event in the life both of the CPSU and of Soviet society.

I believe we have reason to say the plenum is taking the party, the country and all society perceptibly further on along the path of restructuring. But the plenum's significance can only manifest itself fully on this indispensable condition: Everything that we have agreed upon here must be consistently translated into reality by the CPSU Central Committee's Politburo, the central committees of the communist parties of the constituent republics, the party committees at territorial, regional, city, district and area levels, and all party organizations across the land.

This is why I would put it this way: The plenum will have lived up to the expectations, if we continue in the same vein also after it. This plenum has laid a sturdy foundation for making further, steady progress along the path of speedup, change, and improvements in personnel policy meeting the needs of the present stage of historical development.

The extensive discussions, in which 34 comrades took part out of the total of 77 who had entered their names on the prospective speakers list, have given us a unique opportunity to take a look once again, from different levels and different angles of party and state work, at the drive for reorganization, reflect on its mission, evaluate the very process of change once more, and hear first-hand opinions on its score.

What has been of paramount importance to us, and I think we have the right to speak of this, is in the first place the plenum's political conclusion that the party and all healthy forces of society stand for change. If this is so, there can be just no other path at all. And this should mark an end to the debates on whether we need change or not. I fully agree with Comrade D.K. Motornyy who has said here that reorganization is no longer an idea, it is a reality.

The Soviet people are linking their own plans as well as the future of their country and its international prestige and authority with the reorganization effort. So may we permit any wavering in pressing on with it? No, comrades, we may not.

Yes, reorganization is already a reality. Today we realize more clearly and vividly that both from the standpoint of domestic advances and from the standpoint of external conditions, the international situation, we must secure a speedup in the country's social and economic development. But there will be no speedup without a renovation of society, just as there will be no change cutting across all aspects of its life without a renovation of society. The new tasks cannot be tackled by taking the old approaches, especially the historic tasks facing us today.

Reorganization is no stroll by a well-beaten path. It is an ascent, often through untrodden paths. There are, as the Central Committee's plenum has demonstrated once more, quite a few problems accumulated in our society. Tremendous, creative efforts and a long, selfless struggle will be needed to carry the great cause of change through, as demanded by our proposal and as demanded by the times we live in.

We are just at the start of the road. This must be made plain by the Central Committee's plenum since realizing where we are enables us to realize also what we must do and how. If someone has decided he has already changed his ways, he must be reminded that we have only just started the job or reorganizing. And the most important work is yet ahead. This is another important conclusion drawn by the plenum of the party's Central Committee.

As we pursue, and step up, the reorganization effort, we must not run to extremes in our judgements. We must stand firmly on what is the sole stable basis -- the ground of reality. Overestimating our achievements would be injurious but I would like to stress with equal force also that we must not fail to take note of even the slightest progress in the process of change, even the tiny modicums of experience since that would be just as injurious. That is inadmissible first of all for the following reason.

We are just getting into stride, grounding our political line in concrete approaches and mapping out ways of reaching the targets we have set ourselves. We are just turning on the mechanism and machinery for change and making the first steps for them to swing into action and yield results. But even as we reviewed the results of 1986, we already saw that headway had been made.

How has it been made? It is the direct result of our people's support for the line towards reorganization, towards acceleration.

So, how can we fail to see that or believe that nothing has happened or nothing is taking place. The revolutionary is not the one who uses revolutionary phraseology, but the one who can view things in perspective and rouse the people and the party to long and persistent efforts, taking note of every step of progress and using it to find another fulcrum for a new and broader stride.

Today at the plenary meeting of the Central Committee we must say a word of immense party gratitude to our people for coming to realize and to feel intuitively that they are called upon to make difficult efforts but towards such changes and such goals which would bring fine fruits to the entire society, to every family and every person.

The Soviet people believed us and supported the party. This is why the positive changes achieved in 1986 are so important to us. They are of importance because they reflected our people's powerful support for the party's policy and for its course towards acceleration.

I want to emphasize some other aspects mentioned at the plenum. To my mind, it is quite legitimate that the subject of serious, in-depth democratization of Soviet society has been put to the fore as the major one in the report of the Political Bureau.

This is, comrades, the level which will make it possible to draw into the reorganization its decisive force -- the people. If we do not do that, we shall not accomplish the tasks of acceleration, we shall not ensure the reorganization, and there will be simply no reorganization at all.

On the other hand, while developing, furthering socialist democracy and revealing its potential, we thereby create the most reliable guarantees to prevent a repetition of the errors of the past. But the point is not only in that.

We need democracy like air. If we fail to realize that and even if we do realize that but make no real serious steps to broaden it, to advance it and to draw the country's working people extensively into the reorganization process, our policy will get chocked, and the reorganization will fade away, comrades.

Herein is our main idea. Like all the members of the Political Bureau -- and we exchanged opinions on the course of the plenum during every interval -- I am very much satisfied with the fact that this major direction of the CPSU's activities at the present stage of the drive for the attainment of the goals of acceleration has been fully supported by the plenum of the Central Committee.

The Communist Party is firmly of the opinion that the people should know everything. Openness, criticism and self-criticism, and control exercised by the masses of people are guarantees of the healthy development of Soviet society. If they are needed by the people, it means they are essential to everyone. This is all the more important since the CPSU is the ruling party. It is also interested in openness, in criticism and self-criticism. For these are real and reliable forms of the normal functioning of the CPSU. These are precisely the means which can protect the party from errors in politics. The price of these errors is known to all of us.

Today at the plenary meeting we are all arriving at the same conclusion: We need openness, need criticism and self-criticism as efficient forms of socialist democracy. Everything concerns the people in our state, a state of workers and farmers, because it is a state of the people. The people must know everything and consciously form opinions of everything. These words, as you know, belong to Vladimir Lenin.

The people need the whole truth. In this connection I want to remind you Lenin's position expressed in a letter to the newspaper ISKRA. "Indeed, it is high time to make a clean sweep of the traditions of circle sectarianism and -- in a party which rests on the masses -- resolutely advance the slogan: More light! -- let the party know everything," Lenin wrote. As never before, we need now more light so that the party and the people can know everything, so that no dark nooks are left to become overgrown with mould again, so that they can now everything we are resolutely fighting against now, but have yet a long way to go. This is why we need more light.

I want to share an observation I made analyzing my trips. Before, more often than not demagogues came to the fore showing off their "courage." The demagoguery was mainly along such lines as: Where are the top officials, especially those in Moscow, looking? The situation is different now. I draw this conclusion from scores of meetings. Now, serious people start talk frankly, often in most unexpected audiences and places, in, as they say, unprepared audiences. They raise issues in a businesslike manner, ask about what is unclear to them, and find out how one or another question will be solved.

It is the openness and democracy that have allowed the working class, the peasantry, our intelligentsia and all healthy forces to hold up their head. Once a demagogue appears they restrain him themselves. This happened before my eyes dozens of times. People will always sort out all problems.

Openness, criticism and self-criticism are simply necessary for us. These are the major features of the socialist way of life. If someone believes that these are needed to us only for criticizing the drawbacks of the past, he makes a profound mistake. The main point is that openness, criticism and self-criticism, and democracy are necessary for our advance, and for the accomplishment of immense tasks. We shall not accomplish these tasks without active participation of the people. This is what we need all that for.

If it seems to someone that it is not easy to work in such a situation, I want to recall that already six months ago I urged people to begin learning to work in the conditions of the unfolding democracy. Let all of us learn to do that.

The press must sustain openness in the country and inform our people. But it should do this responsibly: Such is the wish we are expressing. It must not be distracted by sensations, by quests for piquant facts. We need the press as an active participant in the reorganization.

We should add efficiency in work. Remarks and pronouncements by many comrades that a good deal of words have already been said sounded right here.

This applies to everyone, including the press. At present it is very important for us to see everything that is positive and constructive and adopt that for further use, to make it known to the entire party and to all people, and to use the sprouts of new approaches in the conditions of reorganization. Greater openness and the popularisation of everything advanced are necessary in this field, too.

Beginning with the January plenary meeting of the Central Committee, we are entering -- I do not want to be accused that we are again inventing some stage -- but still we are now entering a new stage of our movement, our reorganization work. I shall explain this thought as follows. The situation has been reviewed, a political course has been elaborated, and the main decisions aimed at implementing the course have been taken. What is needed now is deeds and only deeds.

The people will judge our policy and our reorganization effort, and do this the more strictly, the more time goes by, by the palpable results we achieve in securing practical improvements in the working and living conditions of the millions: by the extent by which production efficiency has risen, the pay scheme becomes fairer, housing construction picked up, the trading and consumer services and the work of urban transport, clinicals and hospitals improved, and the moral atmosphere has become cleaner and fresher in every party organization and in every work collective.

In short, we, communists must prove the correctness of our policy and the viability of change on thousands upon thousands of facts of daily life. This makes especially high demands on the personnel and concentrates their attention on attaining practical results. This is why it is so important now, as it has already been said in the report, to hasten the step, shift into higher gear, and for everyone to put an even bigger effort in one's work.

I would like to stress especially the significance of the tasks to be tackled in this jubilee year of 1987. These tasks are tremendous in terms of their scope and of the frontiers we shall have to reach to cope with them. They are especially important from the standpoint of mastering the new methods of management, switching the entire economy, many of its sectors over to the new principles of management.

The reorganization, Comrades, is a great school. It sets complex tasks and we must go through this school well. I would like to repeat once again: It is necessary to act, act and act: energetically, dauntlessly, constructively, and competently! This is, if you will, the principal task of the moment. Everybody, all party organizations, all party committees, all leaders, and all communists, should regard this task as their own.

On behalf of the Central Committee of the CPSU I would like to address all comrades in the party and all Soviet people: The cause of the reorganization, the cause of the revolutionary revitalization of society, and the country's future are in the hands of the people at large. This future will be what we make it, with our common labor, our intellect, and our conscience.

The reorganization is the frontline for every honest person, for every patriot. There is enough work for everyone and the road ahead is long.

We are firm in our desire to carry out the decisions of the 27th Congress. We shall press on with bringing Soviet society to a qualitatively new state of affairs. We are convinced that the reorganization is irreversible.

The members of the Central Committee have spoken in favor of convening an all-union party conference. For the party such a conference is a political event of great magnitude. I understand that those who did not participate in the deliberations, also share this proposal which the Political Bureau put forward at the plenum.

Comrades, We remember from history more than one conference that at crucial stages helped see new ways and means of achieving the set aims, and solved problems transcending far beyond the framework of tactical ones.

We consider it advisable, and I am bringing this up to you for consideration that the Political Bureau prepare proposals for one of the nearest plenary meetings of the Central Committee on the date and procedure for the holding of the conference. We think that the party conference will impart a mighty charge to the report-and-election campaign and give a new impetus to the reorganization work of the party and all its organizations.

These are, briefly, the considerations which I wanted to express in conclusion of the discussion that took place at the plenary meeting of the Party's Central Committee. I want to thank you all for the active participation in the plenum's work and wish all its participants big successes in our common work.

POLITBURO DISCUSSES DECISIONS OF CC PLENUM

LD291712 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 29 Jan 87

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee Poltiburo at a session which took place today discussed immediate issues related to the organization of the implementation of the decision of the January 1987 plenum of the CPSU Central Committee on restructuring and cadre policy.

The Secretariat and the departments of the CPSU Central Committee were charged with drafting appropriate measures, thoroughly studying proposals and comments made by plenum participants, and commencing practical work to accelerate restructuring and the qualitative improvement of work with cadres in accordance with the decision of the CPSU Central Committee plenum.

The Politburo supported the Aucctu proposals on raising for broad discussion the draft statute for the USSR trade unions, with amendments and additions ensuing from the documents of the 27th Party Congress.

The proposed amendments are aimed at further development internal trade-union democracy, strengthening good organization and discipline, and developing the labor and political activity of trade union members in resolving the tasks of acceleration and restructuring.

The question of summing up the results of all-union socialist competition in 1986 was discussed. It was emphasized that in summing up these results particular attention should be devoted to the implementation of plan commitments and contractual pledges for delivery, production plans for consumer goods, state procurement of agricultural crops, economic assignments, and improving the quality of output. The implementation of plans for the construction of housing, hospitals, schools, and children's preschool institutions should be a compulsory condition.

The Politburo heard and approved reports by Comrade Yakovlev, Dobrynin and Medvedev on the results of the meeting of central committees secretaries of the fraternal parties from the socialist countries on international and ideological questions, held on 22-23 January in Warsaw. Emphasis was placed on the specific measures mapped out at the meeting to perfect foreign policy and ideological cooperation and strengthen their interaction on the basis of the principles set forth at the working meeting of leaders of the fraternal parties of the CEMA member-states in Moscow. The appropriate departments and organizations were charged with carrying through the necessary measures aimed at implementing the accords reached.

KAPITONOV DELIVERS REPORT TO AUDITING COMMISSION

LD291551 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 29 Jan 87

[Text] A session of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission took place today. The commission's work in the post-congress period and tasks arising from the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee January 1987 plenum were discussed. Comrade Kapitonov, chairman of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission, delivered a report.

The Soviet people, he noted, feel the enormous influence of the CPSU Central Committee January 1987 plenum and the report by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, on restructuring and party cadre policy. Revolutionary, deeply considered and argued proposals for the further democratization of our country were submitted at the plenum. The adopted decisions constitute a direct continuation of the political strategy worked out by the Central Committee April 1985 plenum and the 27th party congress.

The speaker stressed that last year the Central Auditing Commission concentrated its efforts on the following key directions: comprehensive study of the state of auditing work in the party, and provision of methodical assistance to auditing commissions of local party organizations and activization of auditing commissions' activity. All this strengthened the influence of auditing work on consolidating party discipline and enhanced the Comminists' responsibility for keeping order in the use of party budget funds, in the payment of party membership dues, and in the consideration of correspondence and applications from the working people.

Sessions of the Central Auditing Commission Bureau were held regularly. They considered important issues of the commission's activity, progress in fulfilling the plan of work, and urgent questions requiring collective decisions, and discussed the results of fulfilling the CPSU budget and of an analysis of activity of local party organizations' auditing commissions on the basis of their own materials. The analysis has shown that some commissions have begun to implement more fully and in greater depth the tasks facing them.

At the same time, only the first steps have been made in restructuring. Not everywhere have mental inertia and old working habits been overcome. In a number of party organizations the payment funds are not always used correctly and rationally. The financial management of individual party committees and their institutions requires improvement. These deficiencies are not being discovered on time because of the perfunctory nature of examinations and audits that are being conducted. It was stressed that such a perfunctory approach to auditing work does not meet present-day requirements.

In 1986, familiarization of local party organizations with the work of auditing commissions was conducted on a wider scale, they were provided with the necessary methodical assistance. The stae of auditing work was studied in the Republican Party organization of Turkmenistan and in the Kaluga, Karelia, Kirov, Saratov, Tambov, Ulyanovsk and Irkutsk Oblast party organizations. Central Auditing Commission members took an active part in this work. All this was conducive to strengthening the links between the Central Auditing Commission and party committees and auditing commissions.

Talking about work in considering correspondence and applications from working people, the speaker noted that their number last year was noticeably greater. Some of these appeals were considered directly and locally by commission members. A significant event in the life of the auditing commissions of local party organizations were conferences which, in accordance with a CPSU Central Committee decision, were conducted by the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of the Union Republics and by kraykoms and obkoms, and by okrug committees and many gorkoms. They discussed tasks of restructuring auditing work in light of the 27th CPSU Congress decisions and ways of improving the work of auditing commissions with regard to the new regulations on auditing commissions of local party organizations approved by the Party Central Committee. There was a critical businesslike discussion of the increased requirements for the organization and conduct of auditing work.

A seminar for chairmen of auditing commissions of republican, kray and oblast party organizations was held at the Academy of Social Sciences of the CPSU Central Committee. A wide exchange of work experience took place there. Proposals aimed at further improving and activating the work of auditing commissions were expressed at the conferences and the seminar.

Comrade Kapitonov dwelt in detail on Central Auditing Commission tasks in fulfilling the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee January plenum.

Speakers at the session said that auditing work in party organizations has become rather more lively, but that much work will have to be done for the activity of auditing commissions to meet the requirements of the CPSU Central Committee January plenum to the effect that they universally apply a principled approach and persistence in eliminating deficiencies.

The session approved the CPSU Central Auditing Commission plan of work for 1987.

CORRESPONDENT VIEWS CPSU PLENUM'S SUPPORT

LD281309 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 28 Jan 87

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee plenum which began yesterday is still in progress in Moscow. Our foreign editor, Gabor Izbeki, talks to Jozsef Havel, our correspondent in Moscow.

[Izbeki] Apart from the congress [as heard] speeches, have the papers published anything which indicates how the population receive the remarks made at the Central Committee session?

[Havel] MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI has published an extremely interesting article which states that the overwhelming majority of Soviet people support the transformation, but at the same time people are apprehensive about the fate of the transformation. Will the old mistakes not be repeated? Will not the whole thing run out of steam? People call on the party not to stop, to follow the course marked out to its conclusion.

[Izbeki] Judging by the things said yesterday, where does the emphasis lie?

[Havel] It is very significant that it was stated that out of the shortcomings of the 1970's and the early 1980's and the accumulated mistakes, a mechanism hindering social development has emerged. It is this mechanism that has to be dismantled and replaced with the effective mechanism of acceleration. The most important means for the transformation is the consistent democratization of social, party, and state life. The democratic principles of the management of production must be developed, it must be made possible for the elector to choose from several candidates, and every official must operate in front of the broadest public. So MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI states that if only these conditions prevail we need not be afraid that the present progress will be halted.

[Izbeki] I had the impression from the Soviet press even before the Central Committee session that there are doubts as well as hopes.

[Havel] The same weekly carries another article in which a sociologist, Aleksandr Levikov, recalls one of his public lectures. He was asked the following question by several of those present: Will the radical transformation of the economy not lead to dangerous changes in society which will raise doubts about the monopoly of power of the party leadership in the center and at the local level? And will this not trigger, as a reaction, a Stalinist backlash?

The sociologist's answer: The leading role of the party and the monopoly of power are by no means the same thing. The monopoly of power contradicts the development of democracy, self-administration, openness, strict observation of the law, and the increased autonomy and social activism of the masses. But the leading power, the CPSU, is advancing precisely these causes.

[Izbeki] And what did the sociologist say about the possibility of the return of the vendetta of the 1930's?

[Havel] Levikov was very circumspect in answering this question. Thus, it cannot make a comeback in a society where criticism is a basic rule, where the press is free to inform the citizens about everything that happens in the people's lives, where no leader is free from social supervision, where there are no double standards, no illegality and social injustice, where people express their opinions without fear of retribution. But the sociologist said that he thinks Soviet society is progressing toward this very social model.

[Izbeki] So we can conclude from what was said yesterday at the session that the main task is to ensure that this renewal does not come to a halt; rather, that it should accelerate.

[Havel] We can conclude that the plenum -- although it has not ended -- has given an answer, in my opinion, to the most important question: namely, that there is no stopping and will not be any stopping halfway.

ANSA CITES AMBASSADOR LUNKOV ON CPSU PLENUM

AU301239 Rome ANSA in English 1030 GMT 30 Jan 87

[Text] (ANSA) Rome, January 30 -- "An historic and unprecedented event" in an "unprecedented political climate" was how Soviet ambassador in Rome, Nikolay Lunkov, described the just-concluded plenum of the Soviet Communist Party's Central Committee in which Soviet party leader Mikhail Gorbachev, urged moves towards real democracy.

Arriving back here Thursday evening, Lunkov stressed Gorbachev's plans for electoral reform and wide-ranging changes of the Soviet Union's economic system.

"There were toughly worded speeches," said the diplomat of the Central Committee's proceedings. "Many ministers who had not carried out their duties were in difficulty".

But, asked about resistance to Gorbachev's reforms, Lunkov said: "The word, resistance, is too strong. Let's say that not everyone realises the need to change things".

Rather, he said that what was being proposed was a "drastic and radical perfecting of democracy in the Soviet Union," adding that the proposed new electoral systems, which will apply from the rank-and-file bodies up to the Supreme Soviet, have already been tested in elections for top executives at major industrial complexes, where the directors will no longer be appointed from above, but elected by the workers.

According to Lunkov, criticisms against some top executives were in order because, during the last three five-year plans, objectives had not been achieved, while, in the last year, industrial production increased by 5.6 percent thanks to increased discipline.

"It's just the first step," the diplomat added, saying that he believes the new policies may also make it possible to improve economic relations with Italy as "new possibilities for economic exchange emerge".

On plans for Gorbachev to visit Italy, Lunkov said the Soviet leader is interested. "I think the two governments will manage to find an agreement", he added.

In other points, he stressed Gorbachev's commitment to achieve "peace without nuclear weapons, an objective we hope can be achieved by the end of the century".

Asked about dissident physicist Andrey Sakharov, who was recently reprieved from exile, Lunkov said he had heard from the scientist's academic colleagues that he has "fitted back in perfectly and is devoting all his energies to his work".

"We are happy to have a leader who manages to infect everyone with his dynamism and his enthusiasm for his work", the ambassador said of Gorbachev in conclusion.

23 JANUARY CENTRAL COMMITTEE CONFERENCE REPORTED

Gorbachev Discusses Reform

LD241240 Moscow TASS in English 1230 GMT 24 Jan 87

[Text] Moscow January 24 TASS -- A conference at the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union Friday [23 Jan] discussed the tasks of the party organisations, local government bodies and economic agencies stemming from the CPSU Central Committee's decision on urgent measures to raise worker productivity in agriculture by introducing rational forms of labour organisation and economic accountability.

The conference was opened by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, who said:

Comrades, we have invited you to the CPSU Central Committee to discuss issues of what I would call paramount importance, which we have been dealing with as the drive for change has been gaining momentum.

Our position generally is that there should be less and less conferences of any kind and we have recommended the national and republican-level departments, now that the results of the country's performance last year are being summed up and lessons are being drawn from the experience of work in the first year after the congress, to do all this at grass-roots level, at their factories, first of all where things aren't getting on well.

We have recommended meeting with the people and taking counsel with the shopfloor and production specialists, especially as this January our economy has embarked on the demanding work of mastering new economic management methods.

And yet we have found it essential in this situation to call this meeting here, at the party's Central Committee.

The change we are working in the country cuts across all aspects of our society's life. We consider it the key to expediting social and economic development, which is the strategic task set by the April plenum of the Central Committee and the 27th Party Congress.

This policy must be pursued consistently, unswervingly and, I would say, with greater application than we have shown so far. Today we are convinced of it being indispensable even more than yesterday.

I don't want to anticipate the discussion at the forthcoming plenum of the party's Central Committee that will consider change also in our cadre policy. The plenum will open January 27. I'll say now only that we shall stress once again there the need for maintaining the policy charted by the congress and our responsibility to the Soviet people and the entire socialist world for effectuating it.

However, the process of change, which encompasses all areas of life -- economic, social and cultural -- as well as the party itself and the entire political system, involves also such problems as take priority. Everything that we want to accomplish must ultimately make this country strong economically, politically and socially and bring about further improvements in the living standards of the people.

This is where I get right to the topic of our conference today. The matter is that now, while we are at the re-organisation stage, there are several vital problems we must dispose of in the first place.

These include the food problem. These also include the housing problem and the issues of providing the people with adequate social, medical and consumer services and meeting their demand for goods, among others.

As to the food problem, comrades, we really must heave it off the ground. We dawdled all too long and literally stuck fast in these matters.

The whole of the 11th Five-Year Plan period was a wheelspin. We kept stalling from 1972, especially from 1975, when we slaughtered a large number of cattle, and until the CPSU Central Committee's plenum in May 1982.

It is only after it that headway has begun in animal husbandry and the production and procurement of livestock products has started growing.

Over the eight years before the plenum, however, both the population and effective consumer demand have grown. The people want to spend the extra money they have enjoyed through pay rises.

This is an issue that brooks no delay whatsoever. It is inadmissible to let this problem take further years upon years to solve.

We are laying blunt emphasis on the food issue and urging its early resolution because there already are vast assets and capabilities available in the agrarian sector. There also is a cadre corps which is capable of converting the agro-industrial sector to new methods of management. Finally, practical experience gained over recent years makes it possible effectively to tackle the basic issues involved in solving the food problem.

Proceeding from this, at the Central Committee's Politburo we drew the conclusion that we should take major, far-reaching decisions to encourage new approaches and a new level of worker productivity so that to make a determined and vigorous push in the agro-industrial sector and fulfill the food programme sooner.

How can this be done? What shall we focus on? What should we adopt for use, what should we strongly renounce and what should we overcome? These are the questions on the agenda of our business meeting today.

Nikonov on Agricultural Measures

LD242253 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1353 GMT 24 Jan 87

[Text] Moscow, 24 Jan (TASS) -- We are transmitting the report by Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Viktor Nikonov at the conference, at which the tasks were discussed of party organizations, local soviet and economic bodies in implementing the CPSU Central Committee's decision "Urgent Measures To Raise Labor Productivity in Agriculture on the Basis of Introducing Rational Forms of Organization and Financial Autonomy."

At present over 12 million machine operators, livestock workers, economists, bookkeepers, technology specialists, workers in the processing industry and managers of farms and enterprises of the agro-industrial complex are attending lessons in instructional classes and auditoriums, the rapporteur said. This mass universal education is proceeding in accordance with programs especially drawn up for each category of workers in the agro-industrial complex. It has a single aim: Everyone must master specific economics to perfection, learn in detail the factors of the intensification of crop farming and stock farming and the latest achievements in the food and processing industry so that he is able to ensure high-quality and highly productive work in his workplace, in the sphere assigned to him.

The secretaries of the central committees of the communist parties of the union republics and of the kray committes and oblast committees of the CPSU have completed a course of training which was thorough in content. It was concerned with the problems of the fundamental improvement of party leadership of the development of the agro-industrial complex to achieve the timely and complete fulfillment of the country's food program.

What has prompted this formulation, this attention to the training of cadre in the agro-industrial complex? When comparing the indicators of the development of all spheres of the country's agro-industrial complex in the first year of the 12th 5-Year Plan with indicators for other branches of the national economy, the conclusion can be drawn that here too positive improvements have occurred, production efficiency has risen and a turn has been noted toward the fuller and more skillful utilization of the resource potential as well as toward the more active implementation of social policy in the countryside.

Describing the results of the work of the agro-industrial complex in 1986, the speaker said:

The results of the first 4 years of work on implementation of the food program have given us the opportunity of increasing per capita consumption of meat by 4 kilograms (62.5), of milk and dairy products by 32 kilograms (332) and eggs by 16 units (265). While the figures I have quoted do not satisfy us, the rates of growth -- particularly of meat and milk -- need to be effectively doubled, we are moving steadily forward. The labor of rural workers, particularly the country's livestock farmers, according to the results of of the first year of the 12th 5-year period, merit kind and warm words.

In the indices of the work of the agro-industrial complex for last year, two further positive elements can be discerned. The first is that productivity of labor in agriculture increased 6.9 percent, and in the food processing industries 5.2 percent, while wages increased 3.6 percent and 3.2 percent respectively. The second is that for each R100 of production, expenditure of materials was reduced by 2.8 percent. In all, the economic effectivess of agricultural production rose 12 percent, with a clear profit of R23 billion roubles.

But, comrades, these average figures, while accumulating some positive changes in the economy of the countryside, do not yet indicate that the work of the major economic complex the agro-industrial complex represents is acquiring the needed stability of development; or that we have, in all spheres of its production, learned to make rational use of the vast funds allocated by the state or to solve the problems which arise, quickly and without wasting time. No, this has not yet taken place. Many negative phenomena are still causing low productivity on cultivated lands and livestock farms, unproductive work in food and other enterprises, and big losses of output on the way from field and livestock farm to the consumer.

Having already operated for a year under the new management structure, having in our hands an improved economic mechanism for economic activity, we have not managed to attain the due reduction in unproductive expenditure on kolkhozes and sovkhozes first and foremost, or to make the fullest use of favorable opportunities for making a substantial increase in labor productivity.

In the political report at the 27th CPSU Congress, M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee said..."The prime mover of progress and its very soul has always been, is and remains man. Today agriculture has greater need than ever before for people committed to working actively, with a high level of professional skill and with an innovative streak. The strongest guarantee of all our successes is constant concern for the conditions of the labor and life of rural toilers. It is toward this that our plans are directed, and it is important they should be strictly implemented."

This statement on the decisive role of the human factor precisely reflects the objective state of affairs, brought about by trends in the development of our society and the need for a sharp turnaround in the rate and quality of the country's economic development. From the work of the agrarian sector in recent years, many thousands of examples may be adduced in which a person's personal material involvement, his creative activity in the context of all the other advantages of a socialist system of management, have guaranteed an unprecedented upsurge in the productivity of labor in the public sector.

Dwelling further on the collective contracting and internal financial autonomy, the rapporteur noted that in the agrarian sector of our economy, these have a long history. But they begin to be widely disseminated after the May 1982 plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the all-union conference on the subject held in Belgorod in 1983, where their great possiblities for the development of economic activity were explored in depth.

The number of workers in collective labor contracting was in 1982 a little more than 1 million, and in 1986 it was more than 11 million people. They have now been allotted three-quarters of arable land and more than 60 percent of productive cattle. Family labor contracting is also acquiring wide practices in all regions of the country. When looking at these figures it would appear that "the march of labor contracting and financial autonomy is victorious," however, the high and the highest productivity of labor on the proposed scale is not there.

When analyzing the situation, it is necessary to see all its realities and contradictions, all its complexities and difficulties which were brought to life not just through objective, but also through subjective reasons. Many acute questions arise here. A large group of scientists, economists, specialists from the State Agro-Industrial Committee, workers from the CPSU Central Committee apparatus and Central Committee of the Communist parties from the union republics stayed last year in the course of the entire period of agricultural work in the state and collective farems and in the labor contract collectives with a concrete task: to study, on the one hand, the best experience, and on the other, the negative phenomena that are putting the brake on mastery of collective subcontracting, financial autonomy, intensive technologies and introduction of the new economic mechanism into economic practice. Rather serious generalizations and conclusions have been drawn from these materials. The main generalization is that the strategic tasks elaborated by the 27th CPSU Congress have still not been fully implemented in practical actions.

In December 1986 the CPSU Central Committee Politburo comprehensively examined the matter of fundamental measures to raise labor productivity in the country's agriculture on the basis of improving its organizational methods and incentives.

The decision adopted stressed particularly that the production and economic situation that has developed in the countryside at present and consistent implementation of the party's course of utmost intensification of arable farming and animal husbandry have created favorable preconditions for a decisive transfer everywhere over to new methods of economic management and widespread development of the production activity of rural toilers. [passage indistinct]

Here are the scientists' conclusions on what constitutes an obstacle in the path of large-scale introducton of contracting, based on the results of 4 years' work:

An insufficiently qualified, ill-considered, and simplified approach to the formation of collectives;

Farm-managers' lack of knowledge of all the finer points of the work and their inability to personally lead work in conditions of collective contracting and financial autonomy;

Lack of educated planning, of precisely adjusted accounting, of check-stub or other form of control over material and financial resources, without which financial autonomy loses its point;

Work without carefully drafted norms of payment from the total income received from various crops and types of product;

Noncompliance with the principle of independence in implementing the production program; and attempts to manage the collective under contract "over the heads" of the self-management organs of these collectives. [passage indistinct]

Ligachev on Agro-Industry

LD241305 Moscow TASS in English 1242 GMT 24 Jan 87

[Text] Moscow Janauary 24 TASS -- The unanimous support of the whole people for the course of the party shows that Soviet people do not wish to live in the old way, to tolerate stagnation. A renewing, actually revolutionary work is under way in the country, said member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Yegor Ligachev. He spoke on Friday in the CPSU Central Committee at the conference of leaders of party organisations, government and economic bodies, devoted to matters of agriculture.

Materialisation of the party's political course is not an easy matter, Yegor Ligachev noted. A multitude of problems remains to be resolved in the agro-industrial complex. However, assessing objectively the results of its development, we have a right to say that a number of heartening positive tendencies started there.

First, the growth of the output of animal husbandry assumed a certain stability. The output of meat increased these years by 12 per cent, of milk by eight per cent, of eggs by 12 per cent. The plans of purchases of animal husbandry products have been fulfilled for four years now. The biggest increment was received in 1986.

Second, intensive technologies are applied ever wider in agriculture and in livestock breeding.

A substantial effect of this factor was manifested in the fact that over 210 million tons of grain was gathered in the USSR in the past year. A milk yield of 3,000 kilogramms from one cow was received in 24 regions, territories and autonomous republics in 1986, while there were only eight such territories in 1982.

Third, the economic state of collective and state farms is strengthened. The number of economies operating at a loss dropped to less than one third since the May plenary meeting of the Central Committee (1982).

Fourth, the investment policy in rural areas changed toward a greater social trend. While 28 billion roubles, or 17 per cent of the total volume of capital investments, was channelled for the non-productive sphere in the four years before the May plenary meeting, over 41 billion roubles, or nearly 23 per cent of the total volume of capital investments, was channelled into this sphere after the plenum.

Positive trends have just been manifested. The task is to consolidate and develop them, to make them irreversible.

The Central Committee of the Party, Yegor Ligachev noted, is constantly paying great attention to the activity of the agro-industrial complex, to the setting up of food stocks of the country. In the recent period alone, the Central Committee reviewed the work of party organisations of the Ukraine, Kazakhstan, the Voronezh region for ensuring a speedy and stable development of agriculture and livestock breeding.

The resolution adopted by the CPSU Central Committee notes that the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine, the republic's Council of Ministers, are readjusting with intolerable slowness the management of the agro-industrial complex in accordance to the party's requirements. Matters went so far that the Ukraine, which was a supplier of grain to the state reserves, has turned into a grain consumer. The republic's supplies of products of animal husbandry to the state started reducing. Animal husbandry in Kazakhstan decayed. It is conducted in Kazakhstan in an extensive way. There were numerous failures, retreats. The productivity of the dairy herd in 1985 has not surpassed the level of 1970.

Yegor Ligachev dwelt in detail on the main ways of bringing into a greater play the human factor in the agro-industrial complex and the tasks of party committees in this connection. One of the main and permanent directions of the work of the party committees in this respect is developing a sense of being a master in working people.

It is necessary to discard arguements -- and such arguments are being advanced -- that economic methods in themselves resolve all organisational and educational tasks, Yegor Ligachev said. This is clearly erroneous reasoning. It is particularly important now to combine economic methods of management with broad ideological and educational work, with presuading people and developing their political awareness.

Gorbachev Evaluates Conference

PM251408 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Jan 87 First Edition p 1, 2

[Text] Moscow, 24 Jan (TASS) -- We transmit the speech by Mikhail Gorbachev on results of the CPSU Central Committee conference:

Comrades, I think that on the whole the conversation has gone well at the conference. I have in mind both the report and the major part of the speeches. They contained many important generalizations, convincing facts both positive and negative, but both of these are instructive. The conference has once more demonstrated that conditions are ripe for serious advancement in the agri-industrial complex -- increase in labor productivity and growth in output of agricultural produce.

At the current stage the task of drastically improving utilization of the potential that has been created in the countryside has moved to the fore. Were someone now to continue concentrating their main efforts on how to grab more, how to wring out more funds, they would be making a most flagrant error. We can all see how with growth of 50 to 100 percent in many oblasts, krays and republics in assets over the past 10 to 15 years, the output is growing slowly. Thus, the paramount task is to activate the potential that has been created in the countryside. It seems to me that recent years have convinced us all of that. Today we need a mechanism of economic management in order that what is at the disposal of the kolkhozes and sovkhozes and what is still to come in this 5-year period produces a return, and does not remain inactive capital. Such a mechanism is now taking shape in the agro-industrial complex. It could happen that the agro-industrial complex will be an example for other branches of the economy concerning the introduction of new approaches in work.

The path toward high productivity of labor, and growth of production lies in the transfer to intensive lines, new technologies and activation of the human factor. This path lies via the improvement of the system of management and the economic mechanism, through the transformation of social conditions in the countryside. This, in fact, is the essence of this mechanism. Today it is not just a matter of debate. It is something we have already tried in many republics, not to mention the sovkhozes and kolkhozes. In a word, we have matured sufficiently to activate in practice the potential of agro-industrial complex and obtain a good return.

If all this is clear, then to the forefront comes the issue of the work of our cadres in the agro-industrial complex and above all that of the sovkhozes directors, kolkhozes chairmen, specialists and also that of the party and local soviets' workers. It is very important to organize this in a sensible way. I would very much support the idea expressed in a few words at this conference by Comrade Mikhail Grigoryevich Vagin. He said: "Let us not hinder each other." At first glance this seems a funny expression, but in actual fact a deep sense lies behind this: Everyone has to do one's job well and the set tasks will then be successfully resolved.

Indeed, a kolkhoz chairman is not in the least obliged to do the work of the head of a livestock farm, the manager of a workshop or a team-leader. But he is obliged to carry out on time, and in full measure, that which stems from the contract made between the kolkhoz board and the contractor collective.

Not all has been well with our agro-industrial complex at rayon level up to now, either. Many of them have not understood their role and want to give orders to the chairmen and directors. This won't do, comrades. One must not go around thinking that the chairmen and the 40-50 kolkhoz specialists know any less than the rayon agro-industrial association workers what they are to do and how to do it. This, once again, is nothing other than administration by injunction, an attempt to adapt a new form to drag in the old bureacratic working methods. [paragraph continues]

I should like to say this as well. The rayon agro-industrial association council, consisting of sovkhoz directors, klokhoz chairman and heads of other organizations is the main body of the association. The role of the rayon agro-industrial association chairman and the association's personnel is to execute the will of the council.

The most important thing for a rayon agroindustrial association is for each kolkhoz and sovkhoz to be able to develop its potential and for everything that it produces to reach the table of the consumer. Here a very great deal depends on it. It is now necessry to help the farms assimilate new methods, help with advice and involve economists and scientists, but -- I repeat -- without assuming the functions of the farm chiefs.

It will not do at all for a party raykom in the new situation to act just as it did before. Nothing has been understood by those raykom secretaries and secretaries of rural raykom bureaus if even now they are completely unable to part with administration by mere injunction and other forms and methods of work that have been condemned by the party. It is the task of the raykom to take care that the policy we have drawn up in the agroindustrial complex is pursued consistently and is not distorted. Its task is to deploy cadres correctly and support them by means of organizational and political work.

The soviets of people's deputies should also, in their turn, resolve in a timely manner issues relating to the consumer services sphere, as well as to the sphere of trade and municipal services, and issues relating to construction of housing, amenities and roads, and so on and so forth. For all this is very important, it will help to consolidate cadres and stabilize labor collectives.

In sum, everyone must do his own job conscientiously and genuinely not get in others' way. The common cause will derive great benefits from this.

Let us, comrades, carry out restructuring boldly, actively and in a businesslike wway. Our agro-industrial complex is ripe for a major advance. This will be the most correct conclusion which all should derive from today's discussion. If we take our leave of one another with such an understanding of the situation and embody the conclusion arrived at in practical deeds, if we shall resolve responsibly what has been entrusted to us, then, comrades, things in the agro-industrial complex will most certainly get moving. And will get going more rapidly.